

**A PAINFUL DIVORCE OR THE OPPORTUNITY OF A LIFETIME?
METAPHOR IN POLITICAL SPEECHES IN SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE
REFERENDUM CAMPAIGNS**

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Skotlannin itsenäistymistä koskeva kansanäänestys 2014 on yksi Britannian lähihistorian suurimpia tapahtumia. Äänestys jakoi väestön mielipiteet kahtia ja synnytti lukuisia niin itsenäisyyttä ajavia ("Kyllä"-) kuin sitä vastustaviakin ("Ei"-) kampanjoita. Tämän pro gradu -työn tarkoituksena on tutkia Skotlannin itsenäistymistä puoltavien ja sitä vastustavien poliitikkojen kampanjapuheita. Erityisenä tutkimuskohteena on metafora: käsitteellisen metaforateorian avulla tavoitteena on selvittää, millaisia mielikuvia poliitikot luovat Skotlannin tulevaisuudesta itsenäisenä valtiona. Metaforan keinoin tarkastellaan, kuinka poliitikot hahmottavat Skotlannin ja muun Britannian välisiä suhteita sekä miten he kokevat Skotlannin mahdollisen eron Britanniasta.

Käsitteellinen metaforateoria pohjautuu ajatukseen, jonka mukaan metafora määrittää ja strukturoi ihmisten ajatusprosesseja. Teorian mukaan ihmisillä on taipumus prosessoida abstrakteja kokemuksia ja käsitteitä linkittämällä ne todelliseen, fyysiseen kokemus-maailmaan, jolloin konsepteista tulee helpommin hahmotettavia. Poliitikkojen on todettu hyödyntävän metaforaa retoriikassaan, etenkin silloin, kun he tarvitsevat vakuuttavia argumentteja mielipiteidensä tueksi. Tästä juontuu hypoteesi tutkimukselle; poliitikkojen oletetaan luovan erilaisia mielikuvia Skotlannin tulevaisuudesta itsenäisenä valtiona, joiden lisäksi oletetaan eroavan toisistaan merkittävästi Kyllä- ja Ei-kampanjoissa.

Aineistona tutkimuksessa toimi YouTubesta poimittuja Kyllä- ja Ei-puheita, jotka litteroitiin analyysia varten. Analyysissa paljastui hypoteesin paikkansapitävyys: poliitikot tukeutuivat metaforaan huomattavassa määrin ja heidän luomansa mielikuvat Skotlannin tulevaisuudesta ja maiden välisistä suhteista erosivat toisistaan merkittävästi. Vaikka poliitikkojen käyttämät metaforat pohjautuivat suurimmaksi osaksi samoihin lähteisiin (mm. tie, perhe ja entiteetti), itse metaforat olivat usein täysin vastakohtaisia ja niiden luomat mielikuvat ristiriidassa toistensa kanssa.

Asiasanat: metafora, politiikka, diskurssi, kognitiivinen kielitiede, Skotlanti, itsenäistyminen, kansanäänestykset

Table of Contents

1 Introduction	1
2 Political discourse	4
2.1 Definition	4
2.2 Characteristics	5
3 Metaphor	8
3.1 Definition	8
3.2 Metaphor in cognitive linguistics	9
3.3 The conceptual metaphor theory	11
3.4 Metaphor in political discourse	13
3.5 Studies on metaphors in political speeches	16
4 The Scottish independence referendum	20
4.1 The Scottish government and the road to referendum	20
4.2 Reasons for and against independence	22
5 Materials studied	25
6 Methodology	28
7 Findings	32
7.1 Yes data	32
7.1.1 Journey metaphors	34
7.1.2 Entity metaphors	36
7.1.3 Family & relationship metaphors	39
7.1.4 Personification	40
7.1.5 Conflict metaphors	42
7.1.6 Other metaphors	43
7.2 No data	45
7.2.1 Journey metaphors	47
7.2.2 Entity metaphors	48
7.2.3 Family & relationship metaphors	51
7.2.4 Personification	54
7.2.5 Risk & gambling metaphors	56
7.2.6 Other metaphors	57
7.3 Lexical choices by campaign	59
8 Discussion	65
Bibliography	68

1 Introduction

The Scottish independence referendum of 2014 has been described as one of the most significant political events in the recent history of the UK. In the referendum the people of Scotland voted whether Scotland should become an independent country. The vote took place on 18 September 2014 with an exceptionally high turnout of 84.6 %. Despite the high public visibility of the campaigns promoting independence, the majority of Scots voted to remain in the Union. Yet the victory was narrow; 44.7 % of the population was in favour of independence, 55.3 % voted against it. The figures display the importance of the question for both parties, which divided the public opinion of Scotland in two.

The current study deals primarily with the political discourse surrounding the independence referendum. The purpose is to examine speeches given by the politicians campaigning for and against independence, the primary interest falls on the types of metaphors employed. The research falls in the field of cognitive linguistics and is largely based on the conceptual metaphor theory, first developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in 1980. The theory suggests that the human thought processes are largely metaphorical in nature and that our conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. This means that we understand abstract concepts by means and with the help of metaphors, which are grounded in our everyday experience. In other words, we perceive the world through metaphors and this affects not only the language we use, but also our thoughts and actions (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). By examining language and language use we become aware of the thought processes behind them – thus it is important to be aware of the different means that the people in power employ in order to affect us and of the political ideologies they are based on. To quote Lakoff (1990, 7):

Language is politics, politics assigns power, power governs how people talk and how they are understood. The analysis of language from this point of view is more than an academic exercise: today, more than ever, it is a survival skill.

Metaphors have long been acknowledged to play a central role in political discourse as pervasive, influential elements which appeal strongly to emotions. The current research is based on the hypothesis that along other rhetorical strategies, politicians specifically employ metaphors in order to affect people's opinions. Scotland's possible break up from the rest of the UK is, in addition to economic and political issues, an emotional case, especially for those in favour of independence, who rely largely on the sense of patriotism and the unity of Scots. Because patriotism and the ideas connected with independence are likely to evoke strong emotional responses in people, it may be assumed that, combining these two notions, politicians would rely heavily on metaphorical expressions when addressing the public. Political discourse and the role of metaphor in political rhetoric has been studied by a number of linguists (e.g. Charteris-Black 2005, Chilton 2004), and much of the work done earlier in this field is based on the conceptual metaphor theory. When the current project was launched, the Scottish independence referendum was still a fresh and actual topic and no empirical research had yet been aimed to outline and explore the political language revolving around it.

This study attempts to seek answers for the following research questions:

- What kinds of metaphors do politicians use of Scotland and the United Kingdom in their speeches?
- How do they conceptualise the connections between these countries and Scotland's possible separation from the UK?
- What kinds of visions do they create of an independent Scotland and of the phenomena connected with the country's independence?

These symbolic representations will be explored predominantly by qualitative means under the framework of critical cognitive approach. Further interest will be centred upon certain lexical aspects, where the approach is largely quantitative. The aim is to find an answer as to how the lexical choices support the agenda of the two camps and how they contribute to constructing the feeling of togetherness. This will be examined, firstly, by exploring which

key words essential to the debate occur most in their speeches, and secondly, when the politicians talk about ‘us’ and ‘them’, who exactly do they refer to?

As always in any kind of research, here, too, space is of the essence and therefore theories not directly profitable for a political-discursive analysis drawing on the domains of cognitive linguistics and the conceptual metaphor will not be employed in this study. This excludes among others Critical Discourse Analysis, which is motivated first and foremost by social issues and aims to study the relations between language and power (van Dijk 1993, 252; Wodak 2001, 2). Even though it undoubtedly can and has been applied to examining political discourse (e.g. Bayram 2010, Bhatia 2006), for the analysis of metaphor from its conceptual point of view it offers little help. As also suggested by Ferrari (2007, 610), the best analytical tool here is provided by the cognitive approach, with the conceptual metaphor theory at its heart.

The theoretical background for this study is centred upon three aspects. Chapter 2 gives an introduction to political discourse and explains the close interrelations between language and politics by describing what kind of linguistic features and rhetorical elements political discourse generally employs. Chapter 3 concentrates on the notion of metaphor from a cognitive theoretical perspective. It presents the theory of the conceptual metaphor and gives examples of the role of metaphor in political discourse. A summary of the Scottish independence referendum with its key elements will be provided in chapter 4. This will be followed by an introduction of the data (chapter 5) and the methodology employed in this study (chapter 6). Chapter 7 consists entirely of the detailed analysis of the material and the report on the findings. They will be summarised and further discussed in chapter 8.

2 Political discourse

When talking about the practice concerning relations between language and politics, the terms *political discourse*, *political language*, *political speech* and *political rhetoric* are often used interchangeably (Feldman and De Landtsheer 1998, 2). *Political discourse* appears to be the term used most frequently in linguistic studies and it will also be the one applied here. This chapter aims to define the concept in further detail and to give an account of its characteristic features.

2.1 Definition

The term *political discourse* is a direct combination of the concepts *politics* and *discourse*, and its characterisation may thus be based on the definitions of these two, respectively. Defining what politics is, however, is not a clear-cut issue. Very often politics is described as interaction – for instance in the form of a debate or a discussion – for resolving disagreements or clashes of interest (MacKenzie 2009, 4). It can further be viewed as a “struggle for power” for the purpose of putting political, economic and social ideas into practice (Bayram 2012, 24). Similarly to this idea, Chilton (2004, 3) defines the term as follows:

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, for those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. [...] On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty, and the like.

In either way, whether seen as competition over power or as cooperation on mutual interests, the practise of politics is largely based on the use of language. As Bayram states, “[i]n this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language” (2012, 24). We make promises, ask questions, command issues and utter threats only in and through language. Language and politics are thus

intimately linked at a fundamental level and political activity can hardly be said to exist without the use of language (Chilton 2004, 4, 6, 30).

Discourse is another broad term which covers a range of definitions. The meaning depends largely on the discipline it is associated with and the scale of definitions stretches over the fields of linguistics to sociology and philosophy (Bayram 2010, 26). As regards critical language studies, Fairclough (1989, 20) sees discourse as language in the form of social practise. He describes it as “the whole process of social interaction” where the relationships between discourse, power and ideology are at its very heart (*ibid.*, 24, 42). Discourse can be used for asserting power, knowledge, resistance and critique, and for expressing the speaker’s ideological stance (Bayram 2010, 26). Considering both definitions above, the art of discourse seems to be political by its very nature. The term political discourse can thereby be summarised as “the political function of language” which, essentially, is to influence power (Feldman and De Landtsheer 1998, 2).

In general political discourse can be divided into two types. On the one hand we have spoken discourse with certain characteristics, for instance negotiations, parliamentary debates and broadcast interviews. On the other hand there are written discourse, i.e. text, in the form of constitutions, proclamations, laws, treaties and other political documents (Chilton 2004, 4; Feldman and De Landtsheer 1998, 4–5). In the present study the term political discourse will be used solely in reference to the spoken variant of the concept.

2.2 Characteristics

The type of discourse practised by politicians is inherently different from the one heard in everyday language. What specifically characterises political speech is the use of rhetoric – the art of discourse with the aim of influencing people’s beliefs, attitudes and behaviour by using language as a tool (Alo 2012, 90; Charteris-Black 2005, 8–9). Rhetoric is central to politics,

and the communication in political practise is typically marked by rhetorical competition (Krebs and Jackson 2007, 36). It uses multiple linguistic techniques and strategies in order to achieve its aim: “persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threats, entreaties, bribes, manipulation – anything we think will work” (Jones 1994, 5, in Chilton 2004, 3). Charteris-Black (2005, 30) adds that rhetorical strategies work best in combination with other strategies:

When a political leader employs a rhetorical strategy in isolation the audience is quick to identify that there is a conscious persuasive strategy at work. They become aware of the presence of a performer at work and their defences may be aroused against his or her linguistic exploits. However, when strategies occur in combination with each other, the audience is more likely to give itself over to the speaker because the focus of the attention is on processing the message itself rather than on how it is communicated.

In order for the persuasion to be successful, the idea behind it needs to comply with the hearer’s wants, needs and imagination. Persuasion aims either to confirm or to challenge the already existing beliefs, and in either case the speaker needs to relate the change to something the hearer already believes in. As we will later learn, metaphor is a very important resource for politicians for achieving this goal, as it mediates between the conscious (cognition) and unconscious (emotion) means of persuasion (Charteris-Black 2005, 9–10, 13).

In addition to engaging with the audience, political leaders need to engage in a fight over power where legitimising and delegitimising serve important functions. For legitimising their objectives politicians boost their speech with evidence, authority and force. They use various linguistic techniques to legitimise their policies, including positive self-representation, argumentation about voters’ wants and general ideological principles (Chilton 2004, 8, 23, 46). Delegitimation, its essential counterpart, is authorised for instance by using speech acts like blaming, accusing and insulting in order to present the opposition in a negative light. As this type of linguistic behaviour usually involves the use of persuasion and rational argumentation, it leads to language producing the effect of authority and force – provided that

the speaker has the authority and executive resources to make certain speech acts credible (Chilton 2004, 30, 46).

In all forms of political discourse, be it persuasion or legitimisation, the role of metaphor is crucial as it offers accessible understanding of emotion and cognition (Parkin 1984, 357). Cognitive linguistics provides tools for identifying and analysing such manipulative elements in political discourse which may activate or exploit innate cognitive programmes (Hart et al. 2005, 189). In order to proceed with the use of metaphor in political discourse, an introduction to both metaphor and cognitive linguistics is required, the topics of the chapter below.

3 Metaphor

What the word *metaphor* may first bring to mind is a mere linguistic expression, a type of comparison frequently found in poetry and literature. This is of course one of its meanings and one of the domains where it can be employed, but surely not the only nor the most prevalent one. The concept of metaphor is multidimensional and applicable alongside prose and various linguistic disciplines for instance in politics and philosophy. This chapter gives an account of its role in cognitive linguistics and introduces a metaphor theory on which the analytical part of this study is based. It further explores the role of metaphor in political discourse by giving examples of its use in some notable political speeches.

3.1 Definition

The definition of metaphor has undergone some changes throughout time and its meaning also slightly varies according to the research field where it is being applied. The word metaphor originates from the Greek *metapherein*, signifying the verbs *to transfer* or *to carry beyond*, and showing that the very origin of the word is metaphorical, as noted by Kortelainen (2005, 1). A good starting point for any definition is the dictionary, here provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

METAPHOR

1. A figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogous to, that to which it is literally applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression. Cf. METONYMY *n.*, SIMILE *n.*
2. Something regarded as representative or suggestive of something else, esp. as a material emblem of an abstract quality, condition, notion, etc.; a symbol, a token. Freq. with *for*, *of*.

The definition shows that through transfer metaphor creates a distinction between the literal meaning of the expression and the context where it is being used. Parkin (1984, 356) argues

that “metap[h]or extends concrete notions into abstract ideas: ‘George is a lion’ converts an animal into courage and attributes this quality to a man.” In other words, metaphors often function by transforming meaning from literal to figurative through replacement: the phrase *the boy is wild* could be transferred into the metaphorical expression THE BOY IS A HURRICANE¹, where the uncontrollable natural disaster attributes certain characteristics to the boy in question. Not all metaphors are as obvious as this, though. Cognitive linguistics presents a more profound approach to metaphor, which attempts to identify and analyse the complex metaphorical patterns in our conceptual system. The next chapter gives a short introduction to cognitive linguistics and offers means for tracking down these patterns by explaining how metaphors are structured in our conceptualisation.

3.2 Metaphor in cognitive linguistics

New waves of metaphor research touched shore around the 1980s after the emergence of cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics is a framework for the analysis of language which studies linguistic structures, systematicity and functions. It attempts to describe how these functions become realised in the language system itself. The ultimate foundation for this field of research stems from the assumption that language reflects patterns of thought. That is, the systematic structure found in language alongside certain kinds of linguistic expressions reflect the structure of our conceptual system. Therefore, by studying language we can find out patterns of conceptualisation (Evans and Green 2006, 5, 15). Chilton (2004, 61) pinpointed the essence of conceptualisation by stating that meaning cannot always be expressed in

¹ The metaphors which signify a partial connection between two concepts will be marked in SMALL CAPITALS. This follows the convention started by Lakoff and Johnson and continued by other scholars in metaphor studies.

explicit form; it is not contained in words but constructed in human minds on the basis of language and language use:

The standard cognitive account stresses that metaphor is a part of human conceptualisation and not simply a linguistic expression that occurs especially frequently in oratory and literature. It is thought that metaphor works by mapping well understood source domains of experience / onto more schematic ones. (Chilton 2004, 51–52.)

Metaphors result precisely from this shift from the source domain (i.e. the context where we expect a word or phrase to occur) to the target domain (another context where we do not expect it to occur), which therefore causes semantic tension (Charteris-Black 2005, 14). For instance vision and kinaesthetic experience provide a concrete source of conceptualisation for the abstract target of *understanding*, e.g. do you *see* what I mean? Do you *grasp* it? (Chilton 2004, 52). Metaphor can thus be defined as “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”, from a source domain to a target domain (Lakoff 1993, 203–7 in Ferrari 2007, 611).

The most fundamental notion in the theory of metaphor linked to human conceptualisation is precisely *mapping*, which refers to the “systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas” (Grady 2007, 190). We may, for instance, conceptualise *love* as a *ship* which *sails* in the *stormy sea* and eventually reaches the *harbour*. These provide natural associations between elements in the source domain (*ship*, *stormy sea*, *harbour*) and the target domain (*love*, *difficulties in the relationship*, *marriage*). The cognitive metaphor theory suggests that these kinds of metaphorical mappings, which are largely unconscious, are used for reasoning about such target domains that are somehow vague or controversial (Chilton 2004, 52). This derives from the fact that source domains have a holistic structure, which means that if one part is accepted, others will follow. Entailed elements can be mapped onto the target domain, which allows us to draw inferences in the given circumstances (Chilton 2004, 52). Chilton gives a notorious example of Adolf Hitler,

who used the source domain of microbes and disease in *Mein Kampf* and in some of his speeches. What we know about microbes is that they creep into your body without you noticing them and cause disease. One only needs to map the ‘parasite’ frame onto the ‘Jew’ frame to understand what inferences can and have been drawn from this metaphor (Chilton 2004, 52).

Moreover, cognitive linguistics takes a holistic perception to the overall human experience. This rests on the empiricist view that the human mind cannot be studied without human embodiment; the way language works is a reaction to our physical environment, i.e. to our body (Evans and Green 2006, 44). According to Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008, 277), the closer a metaphor is related to the body, the more emotive power it has. This is because “embodied meaning” plays a central role in conceptualisation. The “medical” language that Hitler used was effective only because of the excessive amount of emotional, medical and bodily images it contained (Chilton 2004, 52). The holistic view of conceptualisation and emphasising the meaning of physicality in cognitive processes stems largely (if not entirely) from the conceptual metaphor theory originally introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Of all the concepts of metaphor this particular one is of most relevance for the current research, and the section below explains it in more detail.

3.3 The conceptual metaphor theory

The approach to metaphor initiated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their much celebrated *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) has been the starting point in metaphor discussion in the field of cognitive linguistics (Grady 2007, 188). According to them, metaphors are pervasive elements not only in the language we use but also in thought and action. Our conceptual system, which structures both how we think and act but what we are normally not aware of, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980, 3). Because so many of the concepts

that are important to us are either abstract or not clearly delineated in our experience (emotions, ideas, time, etc.), we need to get a grasp of them by means of other, concrete, concepts that we understand in clearer terms (spatial orientation, bodily experiences, objects, etc.). Metaphors allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another, i.e. the nonphysical in terms of the physical (1980, 115).

Lakoff and Johnson identify between three different types of metaphors: structural, orientational and ontological metaphors. Structural metaphors are those where a concept is partially structured in terms of another concept, as in the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. We talk about arguments in terms of war, which leads us to conceptualise the actual activity as a type of warfare; we *win* or *lose* arguments, *attack* or *defend* our positions, *plan* and use *strategies*. In other words, the metaphor lies not only in the words we use, but in the very concept of an argument (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 4–5). Orientational metaphors, on the other hand, are based on our physical experience and “arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment” (ibid., 14). They give a concept a spatial orientation, for example *happy/good/more* is *up* and *sad/bad/less* is *down*, which leads to expressions like “I’m feeling *up* today” or “I’m feeling *down*”.

Ontological metaphors may be further divided into three main subtypes: entity metaphors, container metaphors and personification. Entity metaphors allow us to identify experiences, which are not distinct or have clear boundaries, as entities or substances. An instance of such a metaphor is THE MIND IS A MACHINE, which is often used for describing how our brain works. Thus we say things like “I’m a little *rusty* today” or “He *broke down*”. Ontological metaphors like these are so natural in language and pervasive in our thought that we hardly identify them as metaphors, but instead take them as direct descriptions of mental phenomena (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 25–28). Container metaphors represent a concept having an interior and an exterior, defined by boundaries and being able to hold something

inside. People, rooms, houses, cities and countries can all be regarded as containers with an *in-out* orientation. Items of clothing can also function as containers, thus we sometimes may say that “I can’t get *into* these jeans” (ibid., 29–30). Of ontological metaphors personification is probably the most obvious kind. Through personification non-human entities are specified as having human qualities, i.e. a physical object or an abstract concept is characterised as a person, as in “*Cancer finally caught up with him*” or “*Inflation has given birth to a money-minded generation*” (ibid., 33). Here cancer and inflation are seen not only as persons, but as adversaries, which affects both how we think about them and how we should act towards them. Personification is an effective means of influence as it allows us to understand the worldly phenomena in human terms, on the basis of our own actions and characteristics (ibid., 33–34). What is common for all structural, orientational and ontological metaphors is that they are grounded in systematic correlations within our physical experience and thus hold emotive power.

This theory has since been further developed and modified, and it has served as a basis for a number of metaphor studies in the field of political discourse. Most of these studies do not directly rely on the type of categorisation presented above (i.e. division to structural, orientational and ontological metaphors), but the metaphors are regularly classified solely according to the source domain they represent. The domains frequently stem from the area of structural metaphors or of ontological metaphors representing containment or personification; the role of orientational metaphors is minimal. The following two sections examine metaphor in the political arena.

3.4 Metaphor in political discourse

Metaphor has long been recognised as a central element in political rhetoric (Chilton 2005, 51). This draws specifically on its pragmatic and cognitive characteristics: its pragmatic

functions are motivated by its purpose of persuasion, whereas its cognitive characteristics involve a relationship between language and human conceptual system, which a metaphor aims to affect. Metaphor is typically used in persuasive arguments because it has the power to change the way we normally perceive the world and to offer some fresh insights to it (Charteris-Black 2005, 14–15, 20). Parkin (1984, 356) captures this idea neatly:

Metaphor plays a central role in the construction of our social and political reality. It has the power to define reality by highlighting some aspects of it and by hiding others. Forced to focus only on the highlighted aspects of the metaphor we accept it as being true if it fits our understanding of the concept closely enough.

One of the major functions of metaphor in political discourse is to simplify complicated issues in order to make them easily understandable for the public (Mio 1997, 113). Hence the above mentioned aspects may be further explained by the means of, what else than, a metaphor: “Metaphor is a solar eclipse. It hides the object of study and at the same time reveals some of its most salient and interesting characteristics when viewed through the right telescope” (Paivio 1979, 150, in Mio 1997, 113). Metaphors are culturally dependent and we have the tendency to take the metaphors of our culture as truths. Most metaphors have evolved in our culture through time, but many of them are imposed upon us by people in power – in other words, they get to define what we consider to be true. This presumes again, of course, that the speaker has the authority to make certain assertions credible (Chilton 2004, 30). Metaphors are used among others for legitimising policies and, if accepted, they may shape our perception, lead to logical consequences and serve as a guide to future actions (Mio 1997, 121). This aspect becomes especially crucial in cases where political leaders need to justify extreme decisions, such as going to war. For instance President Carter used a war metaphor in a political speech which highlighted certain realities and hid others. The metaphor, which surely was not the only one available, provided one way of viewing the reality and eventually motivated political and economic action (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 156–160).

The two most often employed metaphors in political discourse are journey and container metaphors. Political concepts involving leadership and political action are often conceptualised by movement, thus we may hear politicians employ expressions like *come to a crossroad*, *move ahead towards a better future* and *overcome obstacles in the way* (Chilton 2004, 52). Or as Tony Blair has been noted to say in one of his speeches, *I can only go one way ... I've not got a reverse gear* (Charteris-Black 2005, 27). Hart et al. (2005, 189) state that social groups and entities, especially countries, are in political discourse often included within the source domain of containment and boundary-setting: in our perception they have a 'centre', 'insiders' and 'outsiders', 'people on the margins', etc. They provide two examples from the UK Independence Party Manifesto, where the party uses the metaphor for justifying their immigration policy, "The trouble is the UK is already full up" and "We are bursting at the seams" (ibid., 190). The examples demonstrate the popular THE COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER metaphor, with a limited capacity to hold people in and being *full up*. The second example activates a clothing frame, where the country is visualised to be *bursting at the seams*. Building and construction metaphors are also characteristic of the Western political discourse, and they have often been noted to appear combined with the journey metaphor in Vladimir Putin's speeches (Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke 2009, 113). Indeed, metaphor is often not a discrete, isolated feature in political discourse but rather occurs together with other metaphors or linguistic elements. As Charteris-Black (2005, 197) notes,

metaphors are especially effective when combined with other metaphors and that nested metaphors drawing on two or more source domains are likely to be more effective than those that draw on single source domain because they create multiple arguments.

He further states that metaphors work well in political discourse because they create a link between our understanding of every-day experiences with "deep-rooted cultural values that evoke powerful emotional responses" (ibid., xi). Neurological studies have also shown that,

along other cognitive programmes, language and metaphors can activate the centre for the emotions in the brain. Thus “certain language use (discourse) could influence conceptualisation and cognition, manipulating the individual into a position of support for a policy” (Hart et al. 2005, 192). These notions support the opinion of the metaphor as an exceedingly effective rhetorical strategy, proving that metaphors do matter. The next section is dedicated to presenting earlier studies on metaphor in the field of political discourse.

3.5 Studies on metaphors in political speeches

Considering how central metaphor is to politics and rhetoric, it is no wonder that the topic has been relatively well studied. Charteris-Black (2005) studied the use of metaphor and myth in various speeches by political leaders such as Winston Churchill, Martin Luther King and George W. Bush. For the analysis he developed an approach to metaphor, Critical Metaphor Analysis, which consists of three parts: identification, interpretation and explanation of the metaphors. The identification of the metaphors is inevitably partly subjective, but he argues that the analytical method is clear; the interpretation of metaphors also relied on the cognitive semantic approach introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (ibid., 26, 29). He found out, for one, that Churchill employed personification in creating a heroic myth of Britain. Through the NATION IS A PERSON metaphor he conceptualised Britain as a *warrior* who is prepared to *fight to death* against the *monstrous villain*, Germany (Charteris-Black 2005, 41–43, 56). Similar allegory and BRITAIN IS A HERO metaphor can be found for instance in the following quotation from one of Churchill’s speeches (ibid., 42):

This is not victory of a party or of any class. It’s a victory of the great British nation as a whole. We were the first, in this ancient island, to draw the sword against tyranny. After a while we were left all alone against the most tremendous military power that has been seen. (8 May 1945)

King, on the other hand, created a “messianic myth” in his speeches and involved himself and the audience in what Charteris-Black calls “messianic discourse”. King used highly metaphorical biblically toned language throughout his speeches and often identified himself with Jesus and the audience with the chosen people. The mental images he created among others of racism, segregation and social injustice are strong and powerful, displaying emotional and effective value. In his speeches metaphors often appeared together with symmetrical patterns of parallelism (ibid., 82), such as in the examples below:

They have something to say to every politician (*Audience: Yeah*) who has fed his constituents with *the stale bread of hatred* and *the spoiled meat of racism*.

Let us hope that *the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away* and *the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted* from our fear-drenched communities. (16 April 1963)

George W. Bush, on the other hand, relied heavily on personification when referring to the USA as a nation. He constructed among others the metaphors USA IS THE MORAL LEADER and, perhaps unsurprisingly, USA IS THE WORLD. In many cases he personified America by relating it to the personal pronouns *we*, *us* and *I*, and at the same time depersonified terrorists by referring to them as *vermin* and *parasites*. Charteris-Black suggests that personification of the country evokes powerful patriotic response in people, which is notably a weak spot in many Americans (ibid., 174, 191). The following citation displays personification in the form of a shift from personal pronouns to the country itself, albeit it remains questionable whether the pronoun *I* is here used for America or for Bush himself:

And all nations should know: *America will do what is necessary* to ensure our nation’s security. *We’ll be deliberate*, yet time is not on our side. *I will not wait on events*, while dangers gather. *I will not stand by*, as peril draws closer and closer. *The United States of America will not permit* the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons. (Applause) (29 January 2002) (Charteris-Black 2005, 175)

In many of the speeches which Charteris-Black analysed personification and journey metaphors were pervasive, accounting for a good third of the metaphors identified. He suggests that the popularity of the journey metaphor is related to the concept of journeys as purposeful, as planned progress towards the imagined goal. “They imply of having a clear idea in the mind of where one would like to be at some point in the future” (ibid., 198–9).

Lakoff (1996) has identified two different recurrent family metaphors in American politics. In both metaphors the government is seen as the parent and its citizens as the children. The first model is the morality of the Strict Father (SF), which emphasises parental authority and discipline, the so called “tough love” (1996, 65–67). The second model, the Nurturant Parent (NP), is based on the values of love, caring and empathy, where the family works together as a group (Lakoff 1996, 108–110, Cienki 2008, 243). Cienki (2008, 244–5) conducted a corpus research of the two family metaphors used in the discourse of American politicians. The corpus consisted of transcripts of three televised debates between George W. Bush and Al Gore before the US presidential elections in 2000. The debates occurred a month before the elections and in his analysis Cienki assumed that by this date the candidates’ speech would include reiterated elements of the argumentation and wording developed during the campaigning. It turned out that relatively few direct expression of SF and NP were found in the corpus, a total of 48, although the language that the candidates used indeed contained metaphorical elements. A similar study was conducted by Deason and Gonzales (2012) of the Democratic and Republican National Committees acceptance speeches from 2008. The results showed that politicians use family metaphors and draw on the NP and SF themes strategically when they want to “energize the base and to persuade undecided voters” (Deason and Gonzales 2012, 263). A likely reason for this is the strong emotional value that a family as a unit inherently possesses.

According to Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008, 274), politicians use more persuasive metaphorical language at times of all sorts of crises. They conducted a study which was based on the assumption that the rhetoric during election time and crisis time are similar, as politicians need “impressive metaphorical language” for persuasion of the public at both times (*ibid.*, 275). The assumption was confirmed in the data, and it turned out that politicians indeed make an effort to use metaphorical language at election time (*ibid.*, 279). Another dividing line in the use of metaphor is ideology, and for example extremists’ speeches have been noted to be more metaphorical than those of other political groups (*ibid.*, 274). Also, instead of merely creating metaphors, politicians may sometimes become the objects of metaphor making themselves. For instance President Nixon has been compared to Pinocchio, which did not derive only from his longish nose, but among others from his stiff and wooden physical gestures and his tendency to lie to the American public, as has been noted by Mio (1997, 120).

It is noteworthy that even though all the politicians whose speeches were analysed did rely heavily on the metaphor, they also employed other linguistic strategies in order to influence the audience. These elements included among others persuasion, (de)legitimisation, repetition, contrast, antithesis and rhetorical questions to mention but a few. As these aspects are not the primary target of this study, they will not be dwelled upon in greater detail here. A large part of the discussion has so far concentrated on the theoretical concepts concerning metaphor studies in political discourse. The next few pages are dedicated to introducing another central element in this study, the actual independence referendum.

4 The Scottish independence referendum

This chapter features background information for the referendum. It introduces the structure of the Scottish government, explains how the referendum was organised and presents the pros and cons of independence. As the topic is still fresh and lacks the printed word, the contents for this chapter have been gathered solely from various internet sources². The source and webpage will be provided in the footnotes, a full list appears in the bibliography.

4.1 The Scottish government and the road to referendum

Scotland has been part of the United Kingdom since 1707. The reason Scotland joined the Union in the first place was to give a boost to their economy, which was at the time facing difficulties. After Scotland signed the Act of Union with England, the Scottish Parliament was dissolved and a single parliament was established at Westminster, London³. Many Scots have dreamt of an independent Scotland ever since, and the road to independence eventually began with a minority movement in Glasgow at the end of the 1920s. From there it has led through various milestones towards that goal. A major push forward was the formation of the Scottish National Party (the SNP) in 1934, whose main object has since been to promote self-government for Scotland. A referendum for Scottish devolution was held in 1979, but despite a majority vote the devolution was denied. The road began to lead upwards again in 1999 when the Scottish Parliament, Holyrood, was established in Edinburgh. Holyrood now consists of five parties and 129 Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs). The real rise of the SNP and their hope for a referendum began in 2007 when the party formed a minority government in the Scottish Parliament under the lead of Alex Salmond. The SNP planned to

² All sources were cited and last accessed on October 31, 2014.

³ Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-scottish-independence-referendum-2014-8>

organise a referendum already in 2010, but failed to secure a majority of the parliament: only 50 MSPs out of the 129 wanted to have a referendum on the country's independence. The tables were turned in the parliamentary election of 2011, where the SNP overran the Labour Party and covered the majority of seats, 69, in the parliament⁴.

Soon after the SNP's victory in the elections guidelines were set towards the referendum. The campaign promoting the country's independence, Yes Scotland, was launched in May 2012 with the party leader Alex Salmond as its prominent face. He was at the time Scotland's First Minister and his deputy Nicola Sturgeon also played an important role in the Yes campaign. The opposing team, Better Together, was launched one month afterwards in June 2012 with Alistair Darling, a Labour politician and a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, as its frontman. Later in 2012 the UK Prime Minister David Cameron and Alex Salmond signed the Edinburgh Agreement which set the terms for the referendum and agreed it to be held on 18 September 2014. The independence referendum question was worded in the form 'Should Scotland be an independent country?', which required a simple Yes/No answer and a majority of the votes to pass. The franchise was extended to 16 and 17-year-olds for the first time in political history. The Scottish government wanted to keep the referendum territorial and thus only those resident in Scotland were entitled to vote. This excluded the 800,000 Scots who lived in other parts of the UK, and included the around 400,000 British and other EU and Commonwealth citizens who lived in Scotland. The turnout was a staggering 84.6 % of the 4.3 million people eligible to vote. The competition was tight and just before the vote the polls put the two campaigns in nearly even figures, yet the referendum resulted in the victory of the No side. The official result of the Scottish Independence Referendum was:

⁴ *The Scotsman*: <http://www.scotsman.com/scottish-independence/referendum-review/>

Should Scotland be an independent country?

Yes: 1,617,989 votes (44.7 %)

No: 2,001,926 votes (55.3 %)

The four cities in the whole of Scotland which voted Yes were Dundee (57.3 % Yes votes), West Dunbartonshire (54 %), Glasgow (53.5%) and North Lanarkshire (51.1 %). The capital Edinburgh voted against independence with 61.1% No votes. The biggest opposition was met in the Orkney Islands (67.2 % No votes), next to the border between England in Dumfries and Galloway (65.7 %) and in Scottish Borders (66.6 %). The turnout was highest in East Dunbartonshire (91 %) and lowest in Glasgow (75 %)⁵.

4.2 Reasons for and against independence

All those not so deeply involved with the UK politics may have wondered why Scotland would have wanted to become independent in the first place. The biggest issues concerned the economy, nuclear weapons and political differences with Westminster. Starting with politics, the United Kingdom is ruled largely by the Conservative party, and in Holyrood the Tories form one of the minority parties. The supporters of independence argued that the current system does not serve Scotland's needs because they remain underrepresented no matter what government the Scots vote for in a UK general election⁶. In other words, "[g]overnments formed at Westminster often do not reflect the majority vote in Scotland. With independence, Scotland would always get the government it voted for"⁷. As Alex Salmond has notably said:

⁵ BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/events/scotland-decides/results>

⁶ Independent Scotland: <http://www.independentscotland.org/articles/14270/why-vote-yes-for-scottish-independence.htm>

⁷ *The Scotsman*: <http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/politics/scottish-independence-10-reasons-for-yes-and-no-1-3542968>

The difficulty in a general election is the majority of people in Scotland vote against the Tory party. They have one MP – more pandas in the zoo in Edinburgh than Tory MPs in Scotland – but we still get a Tory government. That is what is undemocratic about the status quo and what is democratic in an independent Scotland. (5 August 2014)

The SNP also promoted the view that Scotland would be richer as an independent country. This was based on the calculations of the tax revenues from the North Sea oil and gas resources, which could be put to good use, e.g. for promoting national healthcare⁸. Up to now the money has gone to the UK Treasury⁹. Whether this would be true, however, remains unclear as both the Scottish government and the UK treasury published contradictory figures on the topic¹⁰. Regardless of the statistics, the Scottish government wanted to be in charge of how resources are spent and what money is invested in. They opposed to investing billions of pounds in nuclear weapons and wanted to banish Trident, the British nuclear weapons programme, from the Scottish soil¹¹. The SNP also believed that controlling their own wealth and taxation would create more local jobs and offer more opportunities for young people¹². One of the big debate topics was the so called Bedroom Tax, which restricts the amount of housing benefit for tenants living in a house with spare bedrooms. It was opposed by 90 % of the Scottish MPs in the House of Commons in 2012, yet it still passed. As Salmond stated in one his speeches from October 2013, “the Bedroom Tax is becoming a symbol of why independence is necessary”. One of the main slogans for Yes Scotland was “Scotland’s future in Scotland’s hands”¹³, which captures the essence of their agenda in a nutshell.

⁸ Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-scottish-independence-referendum-2014-8>

⁹ *The Scotsman*: <http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/politics/scottish-independence-10-reasons-for-yes-and-no-1-3542968>

¹⁰ Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-scottish-independence-referendum-2014-8>

¹¹ BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-26550736>

¹² Yes Scotland: <http://www.yesscotland.net/answers/what-are-benefits-scotland-being-independent>

¹³ The Scottish Government: <https://www.scotreferendum.com/questions/why-is-becoming-independent-important/>

The Better Together campaign, on the other hand, argued that remaining part of the UK would give Scotland “the best of both worlds”¹⁴. The Scottish Parliament would still be able to make local decisions about healthcare and education while getting the benefits of being part of a larger economy. They asserted that jobs dependent on their membership of the UK could be lost and through trading Scotland would have access to more jobs. They appealed to the 300-year-old union between the nations and emphasised the risks that the possible change would bring along: in addition to jobs being lost, prices might rise, the economy would become insecure, the borders might not be so easily crossable and more centrally, nobody knows whether Scotland would be able to use the pound sterling after becoming independent¹⁵. Salmond assumed that Scotland could keep the pound by joining in a currency union with the rest of the UK, but this had not been confirmed by Westminster. On the whole, those opposed to independence saw breaking away from the United Kingdom too uncertain and, as the campaign title suggests, promoted the view that the countries will do better if they stay together.

The reasons for and against independence presented in this section are a likely source of metaphors, as they form a substantial part of the campaigns’ vision for the future of Scotland as an independent country. They also consist of a set of arguments which are interestingly in direct contradiction with each other. The means that the campaigns employed for promoting their views will be further investigated in the analysis; first, the next two chapters present the material and methods employed in the study.

¹⁴ Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-scottish-independence-referendum-2014-8>

¹⁵ *The Scotsman*: <http://www.edinburghnews.scotsman.com/news/politics/scottish-independence-10-reasons-for-yes-and-no-1-3542968>

5 Materials studied

The material for the analysis consists of videos of campaign speeches given by some of the leading political figures representing both Yes and No sides. All speeches apart from one¹⁶ were published on YouTube. The so called Yes data includes speeches by Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon, the No data those by Gordon Brown, David Cameron and Alistair Darling. Different speakers were chosen to represent both sides in order to create diversity in the data. The speeches were either public speeches, television debates or speeches recorded in the campaign rallies and conferences during 2013–2014. Some of the speeches were broadcasted by BBC, others recorded by participants in the audience. The time of publication was limited ideally towards the end of campaigning; this leans on the assumption that at this stage the politicians' speech would contain a maximum amount of reiterated elements and wording developed during the campaigning (cf. Cienki 2008). Also, as shown by Vertessen and de Landtsheer (2008), politicians tend to use more metaphorical language at election time and closer to the vote, which they need for persuading the public.

Videos were chosen over texts for three reasons: first of all, and as has been noted above, the term political discourse refers most often to spoken language which is the primary target of this study. Secondly, political campaigning is often based on campaign speeches and broadcast debates rather than the written word and is thus the most convenient channel of influence. It can be debated, however, whether there actually is that much difference between an article written and a speech given by a political leader – the content is possibly very similar, and there is no reason to suggest that the one type would contain any more metaphorical language than the other. Both types represent prepared speech where the person has had time to consider their choice of words and to refine their language. Unfortunately,

¹⁶ The first debate between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling was not available on YouTube and remains the only video in this research provided by STV Player.

which brings us to the third point, texts and articles written by any of the campaign leaders or other main politicians involved were surprisingly scarce. Albeit the Internet is full of publications of all sorts over the topic, they were very often not written by politicians but by layman, reporters, columnists, etc. Analysing these texts would surely be interesting, but would hardly serve the original purpose, which was to examine political language and how politicians use different linguistic elements and metaphors in order to influence people.

Videos were selected from YouTube by conducting searches with different combinations of the key words *Scottish, independence, referendum, 2014, speech, [name of politician], Yes Scotland, Better Together* and *indyref*, a popular shortening of the Scottish independence referendum in the social media. As “name of politician” occurred any of the politicians representing either sides. Only videos published before the vote were included in the study, and for instance interviews and other forms of unprepared speech events were excluded from the analysis.

Relevant videos were surprisingly scarce. All in all eight speeches and four debate statements were selected to represent the whole data, totalling 12 video clips¹⁷. The length of the speeches varied between 10 and 35 minutes and all of them were transcribed in order to enable a detailed analysis of the language in the written form. Some videos, however, especially the television debates, hardly fit in 90 minutes and transcribing them would have been too arduous and not relevant for the study. This derives from the assumption that most of the debate discourse is spontaneous and the speakers do not have the time to elaborate their choice of words. It may be assumed that such unprepared speech, similarly to the language in interviews, would not contain as many metaphors as prepared one. Therefore only the opening and closing statements of both candidates were transcribed and included in the analysis. These parts were considered vital for the study as they were held near the vote in August 2014 and

¹⁷ A full list of speeches with links will be provided in the bibliography.

were likely to reach a considerable public from No voters and Yes voters to those undecided. It was assumed that the candidates would make an effort to be as convincing as ever in persuading the audience. The data totals approximately 190 minutes of speech and contains just under 25,000 words. The data for the Yes side is slightly larger than the No side, but as it contains speeches only by two politicians as opposed to the three in the No data, this was not considered to have a notable effect on the results.

The quality of the videos was often good, which enabled a word for word transcription of the speeches. Unfortunately some of the takes recorded by the audience often had a poor sound quality and/or disturbing background noise, which at parts prevented an accurate hearing of the speech. This affects, however, individual words and only a very small part of the data, and is, again, unlikely to affect the results.

6 Methodology

The analysis of the data follows the example set by Charteris-Black (2005) on metaphor research in political discourse. It employs Critical Metaphor Analysis as an approach, which consists of three parts. After listening and transcribing the videos, the first task is to carefully study the material and to identify the metaphors. The second part consists of the interpretation and categorisation of the metaphors according to the type of source domain they represent (e.g. *journey*, *family* or *personification*). This will be followed by an analysis on their function, i.e. an explanation of the metaphors, and by discussion on the differences in the metaphors employed by the two camps. Here, too, the interpretation of metaphors relies on the conceptual metaphor theory introduced by Lakoff and Johnson.

This type of metaphor research where all work is done manually is not entirely unproblematic. Cienki (2008) points out some of its inherent problems. He states that even though computational linguistics and artificial intelligence do offer some means of automatically identifying metaphorically used words in texts, most of the coding of metaphors must still be done manually as these systems are not sensitive to the subtleties of use and meaning of words in context (2008, 246). Here the author must rely on their own notion of the concept of the metaphor and of identifying metaphorical expressions. This alone is problematic. He provides an example of a metaphor identified by Charteris-Black as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, *I can only go one way and I've not got a reverse gear*. He points out that the target domain here could also be labelled as *progress* or *achieving a goal* instead of *life* (ibid.). This is a minor detail which hardly changes the fact that the metaphor employed was from the source domain of *journeys*, yet it functions as a reminder of the fact that identifying and categorising metaphors manually offers a purely subjective interpretation of the data and reflects one person's understanding of the concept. The question arises, to which degree are such findings then generalisable? Can we trust the researcher's view of identification and

categorisation of metaphorical expressions? More importantly, if metaphor really is as pervasive in everyday language as Lakoff and Johnson suggest, and if we truly find it so difficult to notice a metaphor even if there is one, how will the researcher be able to single them out in the data in the first place?

According to Cienki, the main issue concerns the criteria used for identifying metaphorically used language. He suggests that researchers should essentially make explicit their criteria for deciding which words are used metaphorically. The first step is to establish the meaning in context for each lexical unit found in the text, taking into account the surrounding lexemes. For each unit, which may be broader than an individual word, it needs to be considered if there is a more basic meaning for it, e.g. a more concrete or a more precise one, historically older or related to bodily action. If the unit does have a more basic meaning in other contexts than the one in the extract, the researcher should “decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.” If yes, the unit can be marked as metaphorical (Cienki 2008, 247–248). Whether such a method functions in practise, however, is questionable. It differs from the method employed by Charteris-Black, who suggests that metaphors result when a word is used in a context where it does not normally occur. It does not directly mean that there is a different *meaning* for the word in another context, but that the unexpected use maps the term unto the target domain where the meaning reflects that of the source domain. As Lakoff and Johnson suggest, metaphors are inherent in the language we use because they exist in that form in our conceptualisation. In other words, we use those particular lexical units to describe the phenomena because it is simply how we perceive them. Deciding whether there is “a more basic or a more precise meaning” for a lexical unit also depends entirely on the subjective view of the researcher. As Charteris-Black (2005, 29) puts it: “[t]here is an element of subjectivity in all experience of metaphor”, which neither can nor needs to be totally eliminated.

The identification of metaphorical expressions is not always straightforward, and especially as regards that of ontological metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson admit that some of them are difficult to identify as such. For instance in the phrase “There is *so much hatred* in the world” the abstract concept *hatred* is being quantified with *so much*, resulting in an entity metaphor. Similarly the phrases “That was a *beautiful catch*” and “He did it out of *anger*” portray the functions of ontological metaphors, namely those of referring and of identifying causes (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 26–27). Finding the metaphor in the examples above may certainly be challenging to the untrained eye. On the contrary, most of us may be willing to accept the expressions *the long arm of justice* and *we have come to the end of our road* as metaphorical (personification and the journey metaphor), because they immediately create a clear picture in the mind. The purpose of this research is not to make a detailed analysis of every single metaphor found in the data, but to concentrate on the large scale notions on how the two camps conceptualise the case for independence and the phenomena connected with the referendum, including for instance metaphors which describe Scotland’s part within the UK and their possible separation. Some ontological metaphors, such as the ones quoted above, will hardly help to understand how the two camps differ in their conceptualisation on the matter, which makes examining those cases for the large part irrelevant for this study. This does not mean, however, that the category of ontological metaphors would be entirely eliminated from the study. Quite on the contrary; as was mentioned under 3.3, the metaphors identified in political discourse often represent types of structural or ontological metaphors, where personification and containment serve as typical domains for the latter category. Those kinds of metaphor are thus highly relevant for the present study. Orientational metaphors, on the other hand, which ascribe to an experience a spatial quality, will be excluded here for two reasons: their role in metaphor research concerning political discourse is marginal to begin

with and, more importantly, they do not help to clarify the cognitive patterns behind the symbolic representations of metaphors relevant for this study.

In metaphor research the issue of subjectivity cannot be emphasised enough. As the analysis relies heavily on the researcher's subjective notion in identifying metaphorical expressions, the reader may reserve the right to challenge these notions and to draw the inferences they find suitable from the data, respectively. After this discussion it may be needless to mention that this study does not attempt to make any universal generalisations based on the results and on the types of metaphors identified in the data. Numerous examples will be provided to further highlight the approach to the identification of metaphors applied here and to exemplify what has been included under the notion of each metaphor. The nature of the analysis is largely qualitative, with notions of quantitative elements to support the findings.

7 Findings

The hypothesis for this study derived from the theory supporting the view that the way we conceptualise abstract concepts is analogous to the language we use to describe them. The politicians for and against independence were assumed to perceive the relationships between Scotland and the rest of the UK and the possible separation from the United Kingdom in different ways. Thus the language that the two camps use for describing the situation was expected to differ from each other a great deal. This hypothesis was confirmed in the data, and notable differences could be found between the parties as regards the way they conceptualise the Scottish independence, which shows especially in the metaphors they employ. Interestingly enough, in both camps the politicians conceptualised a phenomenon by means of a metaphor which often drew to the same source domain, but the images they created with it were very different from one another, even contradictory. The sections below present the results from the analysis of the political speeches concerning the referendum. It gives an account of the metaphors found in the data, which will be divided into appropriate categories respectively. Like in most studies concerning metaphors in political discourse, here, too, the metaphors will be categorised and analysed predominantly based on the source domain they represent. A small survey on the lexical choices in the speeches was also conducted, the results will be presented at the end of this chapter.

7.1 Yes data

The Yes data consists of four speeches by the representatives of the Yes Scotland campaign, Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon. It also includes Salmond's opening and closing statements in the two broadcast debates with Alistair Darling. The amount of speech totals around 110 minutes and contains approximately 12,850 words. The speeches by Alex

Salmond from 19 October 2013 and by Nicola Sturgeon from 11 April 2014 were recorded in the SNP conferences. Their later speeches, both from 17 September 2014, took place in the final Yes rally in Perth.

It has been emphasised above that metaphors appeal strongly to emotions. The case for independence could be expected to stir patriotic emotions in many Scots, especially those in favour of independence. Metaphoric expressions, which evoke these responses, could thus be assumed to occur frequently in the Yes data. This was, however, not directly the case. Although there were a number of metaphors identified in the Yes speeches, they were fewer in number and the topics they relied on less emotional than expected. The most notable categories were metaphors drawing to the source domains of *journeys*, *entities*, *personification* and *conflict*, and some *family & relationship* related metaphors also occurred. These metaphor types are visualised in table 1, further divided according to the speaker as personal preferences are in some cases apparent.

Source domain	Salmond	Sturgeon	Total	%
<i>journeys</i>	30	32	62	17.3
<i>entities</i>	57	37	94	26.3
<i>family & relationships</i>	3	7	10	2.8
<i>personification</i>	59	26	85	23.7
<i>conflict</i>	23	27	50	14.0
<i>other</i>	40	17	57	15.9
Total	212	146	358	100.0

Table 1. Overview of metaphor types in the Yes data by source domain.

As the table shows, entity and personified metaphors rank most highly in the data. All in all, the metaphor types identified here show congruence with Charteris-Black's study, where the most notable source domains were *journeys*, *personification*, *creation & construction*¹⁸, *conflict* and *life & death* (Charteris-Black 2005, 200). The following subsections give a more

¹⁸ Metaphors related to building and construction have here been included under 'entities', cf. 7.1.2 and 7.2.2.

detailed account of the metaphor types in the Yes data. In each category the metaphor in question is highlighted in the examples in *italics*.

7.1.1 Journey metaphors

The assertion that journey metaphors are popular in political rhetoric can be further substantiated with the support of this data. In the Yes speeches journey metaphors comprise a good 17 % of all the metaphor types identified – in Charteris-Black (2005, 200) the corresponding figure was 21 %. The speech by Alex Salmond from October 2013 is the oldest of the speeches analysed, having taken place nearly a year before the referendum. Still, the journey metaphors in that speech are similar to those which appear in his later speeches and in those by Nicola Sturgeon. This implies that the Yes camp shares a common frame of mind as regards conceptualising independence, illustrated in the form of journey metaphors. In their view striving for independence has been a long process which is now coming to an end: Scotland has been on a journey towards home rule for a long time and the road is finally leading them home. The journey metaphors in the Yes data do not directly display the popular LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, but rather STRIVING FOR INDEPENDENCE IS A JOURNEY:

The road to this moment has been a long and a winding one. And many of the people who started down this road many, many years before I was born, are not with us at the cast of their vote tomorrow. (Sturgeon, 17 September 2014)

[...] Scotland has been on a home rule journey for more than a century. [...] After almost a century of Scotland moving forward to this very moment – let us ask ourselves these simple questions: If not us, then who? If not now, then when? Friends, we are Scotland's independence generation and our time, our time is now. (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

The words by Salmond quoted above demonstrate a kind of a 'can do' -attitude, emphasising that the moment has arrived and now is the time to act. He later visualises the decision that Scotland faces as *crossroads*, where they have the chance to choose between two paths: they

can either make their own way and complete the home rule journey or continue on the road with the United Kingdom. He emphasises that the decision is a rare opportunity *which may not come our way again* and states that *independence is the right road forward for Scotland*. The Yes camp also employs the view promoted by the SNP that Scotland has always worked towards independence. Their independence generation is not the first one to go down that road, but the other nationalists who lived before them *paved the way* for the process. This vision shows especially in Sturgeon's speeches, where the journey theme is continuous throughout and the imagery multiple and clear:

I doubt if our predecessors, presiding over the birth of our party exactly 80 years ago this week, *would have intended it to take us quite so long to get here*. But, friends, *here we are, standing at last on the threshold of our nation's independence*. Of course, we wouldn't and *we couldn't have come this far* without the toil, the occasional tears and the hard-won triumphs of *generations of nationalists who have gone before us*. [...] There are countless *nationalists who paved the way* but who didn't live to see *the final stage of this journey*. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

Furthermore, in Sturgeon's view the journey has two phases: the first phase is the long road to independence, where the referendum serves as the last stage which helps them reach their destination. They are already *standing on the threshold* of independence, here identified as a building, or most likely as home. The second phase of the journey begins after achieving independence. These ideas are demonstrated explicitly in the following passage:

Well, my fellow nationalists, after 80 years of campaigning, *the last mile of our journey to independence is upon us*. It may well be *the hardest mile* of all. So we will encourage each other, cheer each other and, yes, if needs be, *we will carry each other over the finishing line*. But, friends, *we will not fall*. [...] And then, my friends, when we do, *the next phase of our journey will begin*. We will regain our strength, renew our resolve, and we will get on with the job of building a country that our children, our grandchildren and their children will be proud to call home. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

All in all, the vision that the Yes camp provides of the future of Scotland through the journey metaphor is positive and confident. Even though the speakers admit that there are *challenges*

to overcome and *things that could go wrong*, they see the time after achieving independence as a new possibility and a new chance for Scotland and the future generations.

7.1.2 Entity metaphors

Other popular images that the Yes side employs for conceptualising independence are constructed via two types of ontological entity metaphors. Entity metaphors were acknowledged to serve the function of visualising abstract phenomena with indistinct or unclear boundaries as entities or substances. In other words, an abstract concept is transformed into material form by means of an entity metaphor. In one of their recurrent metaphors independence is seen as a small unit which can be *grasped* and *held in hands*. The other entity metaphor used in reference to the future of Scotland was (as opposed to being something small) related to construction. Building and construction metaphors were here included under the general category of entity metaphors, as also within that frame the country's future is visualised as substance. These kinds of metaphors comprised circa 26 % of all the metaphors identified in the Yes data and were thus the largest group with 94 occurrences. It was mentioned earlier that one of the main slogans for Yes Scotland was "Scotland's future in Scotland's hands", which appeared together with an image portraying an adult hand holding a baby's hand in the multiple campaign posters across the country (picture 1). The Yes camp employs this visual image as a source for conceptualisation and repeats it in several different contexts in their speeches:

Tomorrow for a few precious hours during the polling day, *the people in Scotland hold in our hands the exclusive sovereign power* to define our nation for the future. It's the greatest, the most empowering moment that any of us will ever have. *Scotland's future, our country, in our hands*. (Salmond, 17 September 2014)

Friends, here we are, standing on the cusp of our moment in history. Standing on the eve of the chance...*to take control of the future of our country into our own hands and to keep it there forever*. (Sturgeon, 17 September 2014)



Picture 1. Yes Scotland campaign slogan with image¹⁹.

Abstract concepts such as *the power* and *the future* are here visualised as entities; important and valuable, yet small enough to be held in hands. Other concepts conceived and used analogously were among others *the opportunity*, *the decision*, *the control*, *the NHS* and *the Royal Mail*. Gordon Brown uses the phrase “the National Health Service will be *in public hands*” once too, but this remains the only example of this type of metaphor in the No data. A likely reason is that the opponents of independence do not wish to employ the same strategies and mental images of independence as the Yes camp. Following the metaphor INDEPENDENCE IS A SMALL OBJECT, phenomena connected with the case for independence were also often visualised as small units which could be *reached out*, *grasped*, *seized* and *given* further:

That we, Scotland’s independence generation, *reached out and grasped the opportunity of a lifetime* when it came our way. (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

This is our time, our moment. *Let’s seize it with both hands*. (Salmond, 25 August 2014)

It is *to give them [the next generation] a better future*. That is what is *within our grasp* tomorrow. (Sturgeon, 17 September 2014)

Visualising an abstract concept as a small entity and relating it to human physicality is a neat way of offering an attainable understanding of an otherwise vague concept. It makes

¹⁹ *The Star*: http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2014/09/17/yes_camp_winning_battle_of_ads_in_scotland_campaign.html

independence seem easily achievable and lowers the step for acting towards it when it can be perceived as something small yet valuable to be grasped and held in hands. The other visual image provided of the future of Scotland was created within the construction frame and described as something which can be built or created. The metaphors could thus be characterised as INDEPENDENCE IS CREATING:

That opportunity on September the 18th 2014 is this: *to build a prosperous country, to create a just society*, to become an independent country. (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

The best way, the only way, *to build a wealthier Scotland, a fairer Scotland and a more confident Scotland* is to *equip ourselves with the full powers of independence*. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

The examples show that independence is seen as means for achieving a better future and it offers tools for starting the construction process. What is more, the aims of the Westminster establishment are seen as working in contrast to this idea and they are trying to destroy what the Scots have already built:

We can't stop *the destruction of our welfare state* by a Tory government we didn't want. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

All in all, the two entity metaphors employed by the Yes camp are very different from one another. In the first vision the future of Scotland is portrayed as a small object which can be easily seized and cherished. In the second vision the country's future is linked to the ideas of constructing and creating, on which the Scots will work on together. Despite these contrastive images, both entity metaphors function similarly to the journey metaphor by offering an interpretation of the country's future, which cannot be precisely predicted.

7.1.3 Family & relationship metaphors

As opposed to the No data where the family and relationship related imagery is more common, referring to the United Kingdom as a *family* is relatively rare within the Yes camp. They account for 2.8 % of all metaphor types identified. Even though it forms one of the minor metaphor categories in the Yes data, it will be discussed here partly exactly because of this grave contradiction between the two data. Also, despite the little evidence of its use here, there were some family and relationship related metaphors in the Yes speeches which deserve to be mentioned. The first is the one and only occasion where Sturgeon refers to the UK as a *family of nations*. It is linked directly with the journey metaphor, and it suggests that Scotland can only be equal with the other nations in the UK if the country is independent. Salmond also draws on equality and states that their relationship with the other nations will improve when Scotland becomes independent. This, on the other hand, occurs in connection with a construction metaphor, where independence serves as the foundation for this relationship:

We will go that extra mile. Because the prize is this: not the end of the journey, but the beginning of a better future. *Scotland – an independent, free and equal member of the family of nations*. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

To your friends in the rest of these islands I say this: All we seek is *a relationship of equality and friendship*. A new, better, harmonious *relationship founded on enduring bonds of family and culture*. (Salmond, 17 September 2014)

Another family and relationship related metaphor found in the Yes data creates an image of the relationship of the nations in the UK as a partnership, which is not presented in a positive light:

The idea of *the UK as an equal partnership* has been shown up to be a sham. To vote No is *to endorse a partnership in which Westminster calls all the shots and Scotland knows her place*. We cannot – we must not – allow that to happen. If we want *a real partnership of equals between Scotland and the other nations of our islands*, be in no doubt. We must vote Yes, we must choose independence. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

The allusions may be subtle at first sight but grow exponentially stronger once noticed. Sturgeon starts off by pointing out that the relationship between the countries within the UK is against expectations not equal. She first identifies the relationship not between Scotland and the rest of the UK, but directly between Scotland and the Westminster establishment. She further implies that the current partnership is bad and abusive: their country is ruled under Westminster, who makes the decisions and “Scotland knows *her* place”. By the use of the possessive pronoun *her*, implications are drawn to human relationships where the one part (here Scotland as “she”) is subjected under the domination of the other part. The imagery is unpleasant and unjust, and such a relationship cannot be accepted; indeed they *must not* allow that, suggesting a moral obligation to stop the “abuse”. The only possible way to change the situation and to create a real and an equal partnership is to break away from Westminster’s oppressive control. Promoting such imagery in larger quantity would perhaps be somewhat controversial, and this was the only occasion where such metaphor was employed in the Yes data. What remains clear is that, by means of this one of a kind UK IS A FAMILY metaphor, the Yes camp aims to draw attention to the, in their view, unfair state of the current situation.

7.1.4 Personification

Personification is the second most common source for metaphors in the Yes data with 23.7 % of the occurrences, only slightly less behind entity metaphors. A majority of the cases where personification was applied occurred in reference to Scotland as a country, resulting in the popular NATION IS A PERSON metaphor. There are numerous examples of phrases such as *if Scotland votes for independence, he promised Scotland a respectful debate, the problem for Scotland is, can Scotland afford to be independent?* and *Scotland wants to see Grangemouth operating* in the Yes speeches. In these examples and in the ones below, Scotland is used as a subject, an agent with a will and mental abilities:

We seek *a country which understands its contribution* to culture and creativity as part of an international framework. And we seek *a country which judges its contribution on how useful it can be* to the rest of humanity [...] (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

Did people really think that *Scotland was going to settle for* a desperate last minute offer of next to nothing? (Salmond, 17 September 2014)

In addition to this, Scotland was often attributed with characteristics which echo personal qualities, including *confident, empowered, enthused, fair, inspired* and *successful*. As was recognised above, the purpose of personification is to produce an effect of closeness by directly linking the object to humanity and to our own motivations. Images related closely to the body contain more emotive power, because embodied meaning strongly affects our conceptualisation. This functions especially well in cases where a normally larger entity such as a country is conceptualised as a person, as it allows us to comprehend it in more human terms. Similarly to the entity metaphor INDEPENDENCE IS A SMALL OBJECT, personification offers an easy access to understanding the goals and actions motivated by the metaphor. Other concepts that were personified in the Yes speeches were for instance *striving for independence* and *the nuclear weapons*, as demonstrated in the examples below:

The movement for national self-determination is *alive and well*. (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

But, friends, I'm fed up protesting against Trident. I want to see *the back of Trident*. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

It was noted before that metaphors are often not discrete and isolated particles in political discourse, but they tend to occur together with other metaphors. This was also the case with personification, which could be found in the context of journeys (*our Scottish Government will never ever walk by on the other side*) and relationships (*a partnership in which Westminster calls all the shots and Scotland knows her place*). This is of course partly inevitable, as both actions provide the presence of at least one person. Yet they are likely to

double the emotive power of the personified metaphor, as nested metaphors create multiple, persuasive arguments.

7.1.5 Conflict metaphors

The vocabulary that the Yes camp uses for the independence debate strongly echoes that of warfare. For them the fight for independence is indeed a fight where there can be only one winner. The conflict schema is a running theme in the Yes data, which shows already in the earlier speeches. Moreover, the Yes side sees the fight specifically between Scotland/the SNP and the London rule.

He [the Prime Minister] promised Scotland a respectful debate but then *he turns the full guns of the Whitehall machine on Scotland*. (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

Each and every one of us has a vital part to play. And play it we must. Because, make no mistake, *the Westminster establishment is fighting hard* too. There will be *no scare, no threat, no smear that they will not deploy*. [...] The Scottish Government will continue to do all we can to *mitigate the worst impact of the Tory assault on the poor and vulnerable*. [...] But in truth it is the working poor, children and the disabled who are *hardest hit*. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

The fighting spirit shows also within the choice of individual words. The Yes camp employs phrases where the main emphasis lies on the “against”: the independence debate is *hard-fought* on both sides, the SNP will *defend* the progress made by the Scottish parliament and Scotland can *protect* their NHS. Scotland will also *win* the battle for independence and be *a champion of social justice*. *Fighting, defending, protecting* and *winning* are all acts which presuppose opposition or an adversary against whom the action falls upon. The warfare images only get clearer towards the end of the campaigning period:

They are being the Westminster MPs in the House of Lords who still have the power, Prime Minister’s own back benchers, *planning a blood bath* and say they’ve been crystal clear *they’ll fight tooth for nail* to prevent any serious patch and economic

powers being devolved for Scotland. In 24 hours of this last minute *vague intervention* from Westminster and has fallen apart as it seemed. (Salmond, 17 September 2014)

What pledges Scotland, is in Scotland we say *no-one should be left behind*. As a nation *we stand or fall together*. (Salmond, 17 September 2014)

Despite the fact that conflict metaphors comprise 14 % of the metaphor types in the Yes data but do not form a notable category in the No speeches, the independence debate was seemingly a fight for both campaigns. The No side were noted to have infamously referred to themselves as “Project Fear”, where the “code name” reminds that of military vocabulary. The term was supposedly coined jokingly in self-defence against the accusations Yes Scotland placed on the No campaign’s negativity²⁰. The Yes side took advantage of the scaremongering and referred to the term several times in their speeches. Such delegitimation strategies tell only on the fact that both camps are fighting against each other at a verbal level with the purpose of undermining each other’s arguments.

7.1.6 Other metaphors

In addition to a set of metaphors found frequently in the Yes data, there were some other metaphor types in the speeches which did not go under any of the aforementioned categories. In spite of being represented with only a few attestations each in the data, they do, however, deserve to be mentioned. One of these is the story metaphor, where the history and the progress of the nation is linked within a story frame. It functions similarly to a journey metaphor; both stories and journeys are seen as purposeful action which go forward and contain narrative elements. In the following example Salmond combines the two metaphors by linking the story of their nation to the home rule journey:

²⁰ *The Herald*: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/scottish-politics/unveiled-the-man-who-revealed-project-fear-label.26133626>

And we should remember as we do so that Scotland has been on a home rule journey for more than a century. *Twice in the recent chapters of that story* the people have been asked the question “Yes or No?” and twice they have said “Yes”, once narrowly and once overwhelmingly. So it’s our privilege in this generation *to determine the next chapter of that story*. And *when the pages of books yet unwritten* speak to generations yet unborn of this time and this place, of our Scotland today, *what is the story they will tell?* (Salmond, 19 October 2013)

Here the words “that story” refer directly to Scotland’s journey towards independence. The people of Scotland have the rare chance to be the authors of their own biography and to write *the next chapter of that story* which determines the lives of the future generations. Sturgeon, on the other hand, employs a quote which links the story metaphor to a fabric frame and emphasises the unity of the nations of the British Isles:

I was struck earlier this week by these words: “Our nations share a unique proximity. We also share *a common narrative, woven through the manifold connections* between our people and our heritage”. These words were spoken by Michael Higgins, the President of Ireland, during his state visit to the UK this week. [...] And now nearly 30 years later, *the fabric of our society* is again under threat from a government that has no mandate in Scotland. (Sturgeon, 11 April 2014)

Whereas she first employs the fabric metaphor in connection with the whole of the UK and Ireland, she later uses it only in reference to Scotland. Comparing the Scottish society to fabric serves the purpose of highlighting the unity of the nation. Again, the latter phrase portrays a nested metaphor where the fabric frame is connected to a conflict metaphor and the unity of the country is considered *under threat* from the Westminster government. It further demonstrates how the metaphors in the Yes data often link two or more concepts together, increasing their effectiveness.

7.2 No data

The No data includes four speeches given by three different speakers: Alistair Darling, Gordon Brown and David Cameron. Darling's speech took place in the University of St Andrews on 16 June 2014, where he addressed "students, staff and members of the public" and aimed to set out a positive vision of the future of Scotland as part of the UK²¹. Even though it was classified as a public lecture, the content was not considered to differ largely from any of the other speeches analysed and, as it was the only recorded speech by Darling available on YouTube, it was included in the analysis. His contribution also extends to the opening and closing statements in the two broadcast debates with Alex Salmond. Brown's "barnstorming speech" was recorded in the final Better Together rally in Glasgow on 17 September 2014²². It has been widely acknowledged to have had a considerable impact on the voters and possibly helped the No campaign over the winning line, and was therefore of great interest for this study. The Prime Minister David Cameron was also a supporter of the Union and gave two speeches on the case for Scottish independence, on 7 February and 15 September 2014. Even though he does not directly represent the Better Together campaign, he is a notable English politician whose contribution was considered to create more diversity in the data. Another reason for adding Cameron's speeches to the analysis was that, for the lack of relevant No speeches on YouTube, without them the data would have been in grave imbalance between the two camps. The No data contains 80 minutes of speech with approximately 12,050 words. Even though there is around 30 minutes more speech in the Yes data, the difference in the amount of words is a mere 800. A fair conclusion is that the representatives of the No side speak more rapidly, which evens out the gap and creates balance between the data.

²¹ University of St Andrews: <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/news/archive/2014/title.244874.en.php>

²² *The Scotsman*: <http://www.scotsman.com/scottish-independence/referendum-review/>

Five general categories of metaphors were singled out in the No data. Four of these drew on the same source domains as the metaphors in the Yes data; metaphors for *journeys*, *entities*, *family & relationships* and *personification*. No *conflict* metaphors could be found here but images related to *risk & gambling* were identified instead. Even though the source domains for the first four categories were identical with the Yes data, the images they produced were considerably different, providing an interesting field of comparison between the two data. All in all, the No camp is less unified in their metaphors than the Yes side and there is more personal variation between the speakers in how they conceptualise independence and the connections between the countries. This draws possibly on the fact that the Yes camp is represented by people from the same party and the same nationality, whereas the No camp is not – Brown and Darling are Scots and present the Labour party, Cameron is an English Conservative. The metaphor types according to the speaker are exemplified in table 2.

Source domain	Darling	Brown	Cameron	Total	%
<i>journeys</i>	19	6	28	53	10.9
<i>entities</i>	98	25	78	201	41.2
<i>family & relationships</i>	5	2	21	28	5.7
<i>personification</i>	42	13	45	100	20.5
<i>risk & gambling</i>	21	14	6	41	8.4
<i>other</i>	9	9	47	65	13.3
Total	194	69	225	488	100.0

Table 2. Overview of metaphor types in the No data by source domain.

Phenomena conceptualised as *entities* were the largest group also in the No data: with 41.2 % of the occurrences they were the most significant metaphor category. Metaphors for *journeys* and *personification* were also popular, exceeding in the amount metaphors for *family & relationships* and *risk & gambling*. The metaphor types will be described in more detail in the subsections below.

7.2.1 Journey metaphors

As opposed to the Yes speeches where the whole idea of striving for independence was seen as a journey, the respective metaphors in the No data portray the classic LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor with nearly 11 % of the occurrences. Moreover, they are strongly characterised by a sense of irreversibility of the decision to leave the UK. This shows clearly in all the speeches regardless of the speaker. None of them creates a positive vision of the future of Scotland as an independent country, but instead by highlighting the finality of the vote they lead to believe that the path Scotland is about to choose is risky and uncertain:

And you know when the SNP says now is the time and now is the moment and yet *the decision is irreversible*, are they not forgetting one thing? That this is not a decision just for this time, this is a decision for all time. This is a decision that *cannot be reversed or undone*, this is a decision from which *there is no going back*. (Brown, 17 September 2014)

If people vote yes in September, then Scotland will become an independent country. *There will be no going back*. [...] There are 63 million of us who could wake up on September the 19th in a different country, with *a different future ahead of it*. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

The Prime Minister's first speech on the referendum from February portrays only a few journey metaphors. There is a considerable increase in the journey related imagery in his last speech a few days before the vote, where he sets out two different visions for the future of Scotland. The first vision is identical to the idea presented above, emphasising the termination of the UK as it is now: in case Scotland votes Yes, they will set their own course and the nations will go their *separate ways forever*. Their second option is to *move forward together* with the rest of the United Kingdom, where the road is leading them *upwards* and is also *bigger and broader*, showing a better future for Scotland:

And we must be very clear. *There is no going back from this. No re-run*. This is a once-and-for-all decision. If Scotland votes Yes, the UK will split, and *we will go our separate ways forever*. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

The optimistic vision is of our family of nations staying together, there for each other in the hard times, *coming through to better times*. We have just *pulled through* a great recession together. *We're now moving forward together*. *The road has been long but it is finally leading upwards* and that's why I ask you to vote No to *walking away*. Vote No – and you are voting for *a bigger and broader and better future* for Scotland and you are investing in the future for your children and grandchildren. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

Darling employs the same mental image of the future of the country, albeit in a clearly less quantity. Whereas Brown and Cameron highlight the finality of the decision, Darling's journey metaphors are characterised by a sense of weakness and loneliness on the journey. For instance in the phrase “should we set off *on our own* as a *separate, independent* state” he links the notion of *independence* directly to being alone (*on our own*) and to seclusion (*separate*). Even though he admits that Scotland could survive independence by saying that “of course we could *go it alone* as a *small* state”, he relates two images together – being *small* and *alone*, creating a sense of weakness of an independent Scotland. In addition to that, he strongly implies that choosing a different path would even be unfair for the future generations in the long run, and states that “our children and *the generations that follow* will have to live with that decision”. All these and the previous images put together, there seems to be nothing positive about choosing independence according to the No camp.

7.2.2 Entity metaphors

The amount of phrases stressing the unity of the United Kingdom and the fact that Scotland is part of the UK is considerable in the No data. The United Kingdom is seen as one big entity of which Scotland forms a significant part. Indeed, all the No speeches share the common view that Scotland belongs, both physically and emotionally, to a larger unit of the United Kingdom and that it should remain so. Phrases such as *keep the United Kingdom together*, *the UK as a whole*, *Scotland's place in the UK*, *Scotland is part of a union*, *be part of something*

bigger and *be part of a stronger United Kingdom* are multiple in the data and repeated regularly throughout the speeches. They emphasise that Scotland within the UK creates a large, strong entity which can be quantified both in size and quality, generating THE UK IS AN ENTITY metaphor. They account for a good 41 % of all the metaphors in the No speeches. This metaphor type is specifically seen as an entity metaphor here and not as a container metaphor, which is normally used for conceptualising countries. This derives from observations regarding the language systematically tied to characterising the UK: despite some container related wordings such as *inside* and *outside the Union*, the country is essentially visualised as a unit, which shows for instance in Cameron's direct formulation *we are quite simply stronger as a bigger entity*. The "together we are stronger" -spirit shows in all speeches equally:

We would be *deeply diminished* without Scotland. [...] *the United Kingdom is stronger with Scotland within it*. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

Now of course we could go it alone, but I don't believe we'll be as successful as Scotland will be as *part of the United Kingdom*. I believe we will do better, we will prosper together, by *building on our strengths as well as in Scotland*, as well as *being part of that larger United Kingdom*. (Darling, 25 August 2014)

Darling is the foremost employer of this type of metaphor which emphasises partiality. He takes on a pragmatic approach and stresses on several occasions that Scotland is essentially a part of the UK and there is nothing positive about the possible separation. As the UK is characterised as a *big, strong entity*, this would mean that Scotland alone as an independent state could not be attributed with such qualities. He promotes a view where the United Kingdom gives Scotland economic strength, security and stability:

In essence, it's *being part of a wider market and larger economy*, with *the deep pool of resources* which brings opportunity, security and stability. *Being part of an integrated UK economy* allows Scotland to *share opportunities* but it also allows us to deal with the risks, too. (Darling, 16 June 2014)

Because the opponents of independence consider the nations to belong together, they emphasise the physical separation of the states which creates a *risk of weakness*. If Scotland leaves the UK, they will become separate states and *new barriers, borders and boundaries*, both concrete and abstract, will be built between them. If they choose to stay together, they can *build a fairer and better society* instead. Like in the Yes data, the entity metaphors in the No data are strongly connected with a sense of building. The institutions and phenomena inside the entity are conceptualised through the same metaphor, enhanced in the following passage by Brown by means of another effective rhetorical strategy, repetition:

[...] we *built the peace* together, we *built the Health Service* together, we *built the welfare state* together, we will *build the future* together. [...] and what we have *built together* by sacrificing and sharing, let no *narrow nationalism split asunder* ever. (Brown, 17 September 2014)

By means of delegitimation nationalism is quantified as *narrow* and their advocates as “the bad guys” whose sole purpose is to destroy *the constitutional and political links with their friends and neighbours*. This view is in complete contradiction with the Yes data, where Sturgeon uses the same destruction metaphor to describe the policy of the Westminster (“We can’t stop *the destruction of our welfare state* by a Tory government we didn’t want”, cf. 7.1.2). Both camps seem to think the other is breaking apart what they consider to be unified – the No side the Union, the Yes side Scotland. The opponents of independence conceptualise the UK specifically as home which the countries have built together. Their relationships with each other are *underpinned*, i.e. supported on the basis of that home, which makes the family of nations big, powerful and strong. This metaphor is most often employed by David Cameron, who sees the unity of the UK as follows:

For the people of Scotland to walk away now would be like painstakingly *building a home* – and then *walking out the door and throwing away the keys*. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

Our brilliant United Kingdom: brave, brilliant, buccaneering, generous, tolerant, proud – this is our country. And *we built it together. Brick by brick*, Scotland, England, Wales, Northern Ireland. *Brick by brick*. This is our *home* – and I could not bear to see it *torn apart*. I love this country. I love the United Kingdom and all it stands for. And I will fight with everything I have to *keep us together*. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

On the contrary to Alistair Darling's view on the togetherness of the nations, which seems to be based on a purely practical ground, Cameron goes directly into the heart of emotions. He gets perhaps even somewhat sentimental about it but the images he creates of *the family of nations* and the UK as their home are admittedly powerful. Metaphors related to home are partly connected with the idea of a family, and such metaphors comprise a large part of the metaphors identified in this study. They will be dealt further in the section below.

7.2.3 Family & relationship metaphors

The family metaphors which occur in this data are different from those displayed in Lakoff and Johnson, which relied on the Nurturant Parent and Strict Father themes. Here the governments are not given a parental role, but the four nations in the United Kingdom are explicitly referred to as a family. The family metaphors which came up in the data cannot be directly dissected from other types of metaphors. They are in most cases used either in connection with the entity metaphors like above (*building a home*) or personification (*if Scotland left the UK*, cf. 7.2.4). This is inevitable as home is of course where families dwell and when we speak of families, we speak of people. A great deal of the vocabulary used of the separation of the nations is inherent to the break-up of human relationships. Indeed, we often say things like *stay together*, *break up* and *split up* when talking about families and partnerships, and with those words the No politicians describe the separation of the states, too. On the other hand, such vocabulary refers to the unity of particles, something that was supposed be one entity breaking apart. Therefore, within the same context, they could

technically be counted as entity metaphors. The terms we use in reference to human relationships are likely to derive from the source domain of entities, but in everyday language we hardly think of them as such. In this study those type of metaphors will be counted as family metaphors, as the choice of words in the surrounding context encourages their mapping unto that particular domain.

Especially in short phrases which contain multiple metaphors it is sometimes difficult to draw specific lines between metaphors for entity, family, journey, and personification. They appear in many cases intertwined in complex metaphor clusters. For instance in the following phrase four different metaphors can be identified:

If Scotland votes Yes, the UK will split, and we will go our separate ways forever.
(Cameron, 15 September 2014)

The UK will split can be seen both as an entity and a relationship related metaphor, because we can only split concrete entities but the vocabulary echoes that of ending a relationship; this idea is further supported by the surrounding phrases, which contain words like *break up* and *heart-broken*. Even though *go our separate ways* is clearly a journey metaphor, it also includes human characteristic in the form of personal pronouns, “*we will go*” and “*our ways*”, which in turn refer to the personified *Scotland* and *the UK*. The fact that personification and entity, family and journey metaphors are here inherently combined results in strong, emotional mental images of the unity of the nations. Cameron takes advantage of this and employs the metaphors quite skilfully side by side. Not only does he refer to the UK as home and the nations as family, but he compares the unity of the nations to a marriage, where Scotland is personified as the one part and the rest of the UK as the significant other:

And then there are those, only a few, who think we’d be better off if Scotland did leave the UK – that this marriage of nations has run its course and it needs a divorce.
(Cameron, 7 February 2014)

The home and family images grow stronger towards the end of the campaigning period and in his last speech on the referendum Cameron already relies heavily on this metaphor type. Continuing the idea of the unity of the nations as a marriage, he asserts that “*independence* would not be *a trial separation*, it would be *a painful divorce*”. At the end of his speech he uses a modification of this metaphor:

And speaking of family – that is quite simply how I feel about all of this. *We are a family*. The United Kingdom is not one nation. We are four nations in a single country. *That can be difficult but it's wonderful*. Scotland, England, Wales, Northern Ireland, *different nations, with individual identities competing with each other, even at times enraging each other*, but while still being so much stronger together. *We are a family of nations*. And why should *the next generation of that family be forced to choose whether to identify only with Edinburgh or only with London?* [...] A family is not a compromise, or a second best, it is a magical identity that makes us more together than we can ever be apart. So please – *do not break this family apart*. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

Here the four nations in the UK are directly referred to as a *family*, leading a *difficult* but *wonderful* family life. The countries are visualised as competitive children *with individual identities* and *at times enraging each other*, and if their parents were to separate, they would be forced to choose sides – *London* or *Edinburgh*? This strongly echoes wording employed of families breaking apart, suggesting that the two capitals can be placed within the family frame and identified as the parents filing for a divorce. Cameron provides the audience with an optimistic vision about the future of that family: instead of breaking up, *staying together* and being *there for each other in the hard times* and *coming through to better times*. Family and relationship related metaphors offer a strong source for conceptualisation, which balances out their relatively small frequency (5.7 %) in the No data.

7.2.4 Personification

Personification forms nearly one fifth of all the metaphor types in the No data, and here, too, it is often employed in combination with other metaphors. Especially in connection with the family metaphor it serves the function of creating a more personal and concrete feeling around the subject. Similarly to the style in the Yes data, the No camp often refers to Scotland and the UK as active, individual agents. They employ phrases such as *Scotland is not an observer*, *Scotland has done well economically*, *Scotland now builds all the UK's warships and on its own*, *Scotland couldn't have done this*. This type of personification is at its most obvious when it appears in the context of relationship metaphors (*if the UK split up*), or when the nations are pictured as family members who do not always get along (*the different parts of the UK don't always see eye-to-eye*). In the following phrase by Darling, *should we renew our commitment to the partnership of the United Kingdom*, he draws parallels between the partnership of Scotland and the UK by using the personal pronouns *we* and *our* on the one side and the country *the UK* on the other, linking them together as equal entities.

Identically to the Yes speakers, the No side attributes the countries with qualities which are normally applied to people. The function is to assign them a specific identity: Scotland is a *proud, strong, successful* nation and the United Kingdom is *brave, brilliant, buccaneering, generous* and *tolerant*. According to Darling, the relationship between Scotland and the UK should not be seen as a fusion of the nations, where the particular Scottish identity got lost:

So I think when we understand the history, properly, we see that it gives an alternative vision to sometimes a romantic view that somehow *a small nation was absorbed into a larger neighbour who struggled to retake its identity* to the efforts of a small band of people. (Darling, 16 June 2014)

Similarly to Churchill, who created a metaphor of Britain as a heroic fighter, Brown compares Scotland to a warrior fighting for equality. This results in the one and only SCOTLAND IS A HERO metaphor in the whole data:

Tell them, tell the people of our vision of the future of Scotland, yes *a strong Scottish Parliament* for fairness, *battling for equality* across the United Kingdom. (Brown, 17 September 2014)

Nearly all relevant personifications in the No data saw Scotland either as a family member or an active subject in the world's affairs. Some other examples, however, were apparent too. One of the most debated topics about Scotland's independence was currency and whether an independent Scotland would be able to use the pound sterling. This was the main concern of the No camp and a lot of the discussion in the broadcast debates concentrated on the issues of economy, currency and the risks of independence:

I raised the issue of the currency again tonight, because any country's starting point is currency, money, just as every household depends on money. And *uncertainty about currency can bring a country to its knees*. (Darling, 25 August 2014)

In this context "the country" is most obviously Scotland and through personification Darling sends the message to the public of the high risks of independence, as the currency matters are yet to be settled. Later in the same speech he creates an image of independence as a person who could technically be given a shot: "there are some who are thinking about *giving independence a chance*". Yet it is too much of a risk and thus the people of Scotland will have no other choice but "*to say politely, respectfully but firmly, 'no thanks' to independence*". Like in the numerous examples above, the risk imagery is prevalent. This view culminates in a set of metaphors solely dedicated for describing the dangers of independence, elaborated further below.

7.2.5 Risk & gambling metaphors

The campaigners of the No side were on several occasions accused of scaremongering, of attempting to create a negative vision of the future of an independent Scotland²³. The risks undoubtedly and undeniably did exist, and one of the tactics of the No camp was to bring these to light. Images related to risk and gambling comprise 8.4 % of the metaphor types in the No data. For instance Brown did not paint a directly positive picture of the future of Scotland, but heavily highlighted the risks of independence:

Let us tell them about the real risk. This is not the fear of the unknown, this is now the risks of the known. *An economic minefield* where *problems could implode* at any time. *An economic trapdoor* down which we go, from which we *might never escape*. (Brown, 17 September 2014)

And [...] *real risk seven: a massive financial hole* that cannot be made up even a fraction of it by oil revenues. *A massive financial hole* that means *the risk to the National Health Service* does not come from us, it comes from the policies of the Scottish National Party. (Brown, 17 September 2014)

Here he describes independence as a volatile *economic minefield* and an eternal *economic trapdoor* from which there is no escape. Further hazards are among others “the *uncertainty* about the currency” and “the default from debt that they *threaten*”. The biggest threat falls on the economy, which is described as a *massive financial hole*. Furthermore, the SNP are again slandered as the bad guys who are *leading [the Scots] into a trap*. This forms a part of a journey metaphor where the trap lies ahead on the road which Scotland is now walking towards. Cameron, too, emphasises that the future of the countries is risky and unknown:

Centuries of history hang in the balance, a question mark hangs over the future of our United Kingdom. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

On Thursday, Scotland votes, and *the future of our country is at stake*. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

²³ *The Scotsman*: <http://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/top-stories/independence-no-camp-scaremongering-over-banks-1-3498403>

The uncertainties of independence are related to gambling, where *at stake* is the future of the United Kingdom. Darling also takes to the gambling metaphor, but instead of the UK, he sees at risk the future of Scotland and the generations to come. They are in danger of being *gambled away*, and the sole person responsible is Alex Salmond:

But it is not our patriotism that is at stake tonight, rather it's something bigger than that. And that's the future of our country, the future for our children and our grandchildren. (Darling, 5 August 2014)

Again, are we going to place all our bets on Alex Salmond alone being right? We don't need to take that risk. (Darling, 25 August 2014)

I don't want to see our children's future *gambled away*. (Darling, 5 August 2014)

He directly implies that Scotland is taking an unnecessary risk with independence and that the SNP's agenda cannot be trusted. Especially the idea of recklessly gambling on their children's future is certainly grotesque, and by placing *all [their] bets on* only one person they face the possibility of losing everything. Even though the images related to threat and gambling are relatively sparse in the No data, fear is a powerful emotion even in small amounts and succeeds in creating convincing arguments.

7.2.6 Other metaphors

The No speeches also contained some metaphors which could not be placed under any of the aforementioned categories. Perhaps the most notable of these was the fabric metaphor, where the connections between the nations living in the Isles were characterised within a fabric frame. In his speech from February, Cameron starts off by talking about the connections of the Brits with each other and of the fusion of their bloodlines. He continues with the following words:

The United Kingdom is an *intricate tapestry*, millions of relationships *woven tight* over more than three centuries. [...] Now some say that none of this would change with independence, that *these connections would stay as strong as ever*. But the fact is: *all of these connections* – whether it's business or personal – *they are eased and strengthened* by the institutional framework of the United Kingdom. [...] our institutions, they have *grown together* like *the roots of great trees*, *fusing together under the foundations* of our daily lives. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

Associating the citizens of the United Kingdom with a tightly woven fabric emphasises the closeness of their relationship and the sense of belonging together. These connections, which within that frame are strong, are then linked with the institutional framework of the society, which in turn is transformed into a tree metaphor: those institutions and their deeply rooted foundations form the very basis for the British society. These all highlight the fact the United Kingdom consists of different parts which belong together and cannot be separated. They belong together because they have intertwined during the course of time and form a strong, lasting foundation under the everyday lives' of the citizens of the United Kingdom. The inseparability of the nations is also highlighted by means of another nature related metaphor:

We [the UK] come as a brand – and a powerful brand. *Separating Scotland out of that brand would be like separating the waters of the River Tweed and the North Sea*. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

Comparing the United Kingdom to masses of water suggests that the British society is an indivisible unit. The North Sea also serves as another point of reference:

In the darkest times in human history *there has been, in the North Sea, a light that never goes out*. And if this family of nations broke up, *something very powerful and very precious the world over would go out forever*. (Cameron, 7 February 2014)

He compares the United Kingdom to a light which has illuminated the North Sea throughout the history of time. And if that light were to be distinguished, the whole world would bear the consequences. The wording strongly prefigures the end of an era, showing all the more in the next passage:

We meet in a week that could change the United Kingdom forever. Indeed, *it could end the United Kingdom as we know it*. [...] The greatest example of democracy the world has ever known, of openness, of people of different nationalities and faiths coming together as one, *would be no more*. It would be *the end of a country* that launched the Enlightenment, that abolished slavery, that drove the industrial revolution, that defeated fascism. *The end of a country* that people around the world respect and admire, *the end of a country* that all of us call home. (Cameron, 15 September 2014)

He does not only say that Scotland becoming independent would *change* the United Kingdom, but it would indeed be a death penalty to the whole country. There is a very strong emphasis on the termination of things that are dear and important to many. This feeling is further accentuated through personification, where the country is represented as having achieved heroic deeds and earned esteem and admiration. The humanity put together with the idea that after independence none of this *would be no more* results in a type of death metaphor, which occurs only in the No data.

As the examples show, all other types of significant metaphors stem from the speeches by David Cameron. Especially his first speech contains a number of metaphors from different categories, which he seems to have discarded in the second speech, where he already relies heavily on the family metaphor. Even though the primary purpose of this study is not to comment on the differences between the speakers and their individual preferences in the use of metaphors, it deserves to be mentioned that Cameron is indisputably the most prominent employer of the metaphor as means of influence and seems to understand its value in political rhetoric.

7.3 Lexical choices by campaign

The examples used in this study along the full transcripts of the speeches have shown that the speakers often use the words *we*, *us* and *them* in reference to a certain group, but their use and the point of reference varies hugely according to the speaker. It was also noted that the

opponents of independence seemed to shun the use of certain words which the Yes side, on the other hand, employed lavishly, and vice versa. This gave reason for a minor study on the choice of words between the Yes and No camps, which was conducted beside the analysis of the metaphors. The purpose was to explore, essentially, who the two camps identify as “we” when they use the pronoun, and how often they use the key words of the referendum campaign, such as *independence* or *Scotland*. The hypothesis was that there are major differences between the two sides. The Yes camp was expected to highlight a sense of patriotism and the unity of Scots, therefore they would use *we* mostly in reference to the people of Scotland. They were also supposed to employ the word *independence* more than the No camp, but for instance spare the use of the full form *the United Kingdom*, as being “united” is against their main objective. The No side would most likely identify as *we* the whole of the UK and make an effort of pronouncing the full name of the country, as those in favour of the Union were expected to emphasise the togetherness of the nations.

Here, too, the results supported the hypothesis. There were exactly 500 examples of the words *we*, *us* (including *let us* and *let’s*), *our* and any of their derivatives (e.g. *ourselves*) in the Yes data, with the frequency of 38.9 (N/1000 words). For the sake of simplicity, they will all be referred to as *we*. The occurrences are illustrated in figure 1 below:

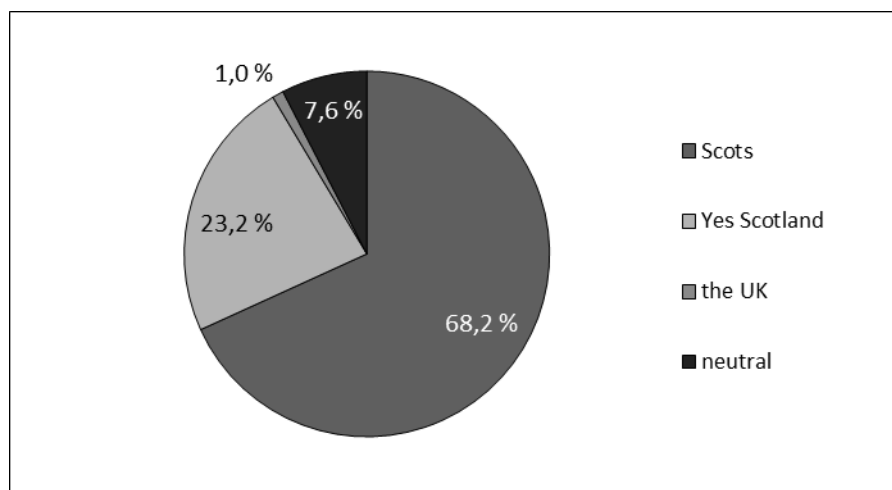


Figure 1. “We” as an indicator of in-group identity in the Yes data

In more than 90 % of the cases the pronouns were used either in reference to Scots, like in the phrase “*we*, the people of Scotland”, or the Yes Scotland campaign (“the latest poll has *us* on 49 %”). This emphasis on the unity of Scots is considerable; in contrast, only 1 % of the instances referred to the whole of the UK (“between Scotland and the other nations of *our* islands”) and in good 7 % of the cases the meaning remained unclear or was neutral (“by the time *we* reach September”). It must be added, though, that four of those five cases in which *we* referred to the UK stem from the quote by Michael Higgins, the President of Ireland, cited by Nicola Sturgeon (“*Our* nations share a unique proximity...”, see 7.1.5). Thus, the actual reference to the whole of the UK with *we* is virtually non-existent in the Yes data. Constructing the feeling of togetherness was notably different in the No data, as shown in figure 2:

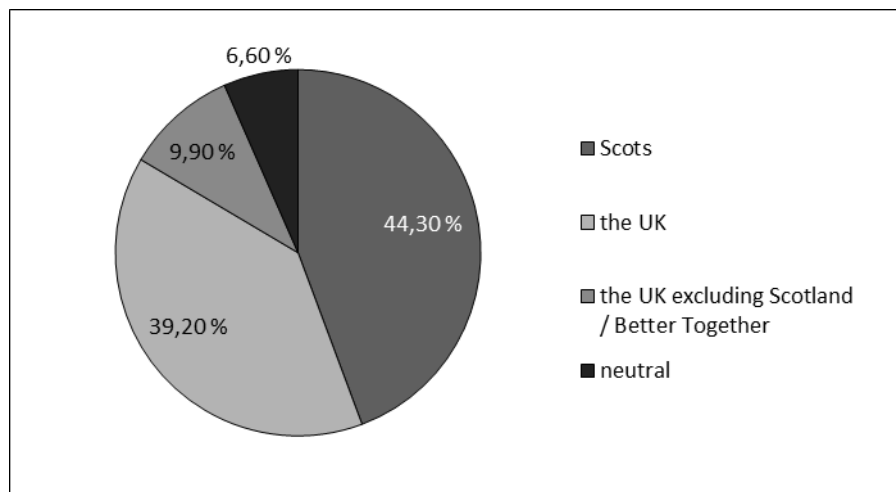


Figure 2. “We” as an indicator of in-group identity in the No data

There were 454 examples of the word and its derivatives found in the transcripts, with the frequency of 37.7 (N/1000), slightly less than in the Yes data. In good 44 % of the cases the pronouns were used in reference to the Scots, narrowly exceeding the near 40 % employed for the citizens of the UK. Contrary to the Yes data, these figures are nearly balanced. Slightly less than 10 % of the examples referred either to the rest of the UK without Scotland or to the

Better Together campaign. This division was made, because David Cameron, who is neither a Scot nor officially belongs to the Better Together campaign, can only consider himself part of the former group. An example of this are his words “from *us* to the people of Scotland”, where he refers to the other nations in the United Kingdom. In the No data, too, some of the cases remained unclear or their referential value neutral. Yet the figures show how the use of the pronoun *we* is considerably different in the No camp. Whereas the Yes side uses it nearly solely in reference to the Scottish people, their opponents intend to bring forth a sense of unity of all the nations within the United Kingdom, highlighting their togetherness.

In addition to examining how in-group identity was created with the use of personal pronouns, the occurrences and frequencies of certain key words were counted in the data. Key words were considered to be the names of countries and nationalities involved, i.e. *Scotland*, *the UK*, *the United Kingdom*, *the Union* and *(Great) Britain*, but also *together* (which is used for characterising unity) and *independence/-t*. The words *Scotland* and *Britain* also include the nationalities *Scot(s)/Brit(s)* and the adjectives *Scottish/British*. Here, too, the differences between the two parties were significant. Figure 3 shows the number of key words employed by the Yes side:

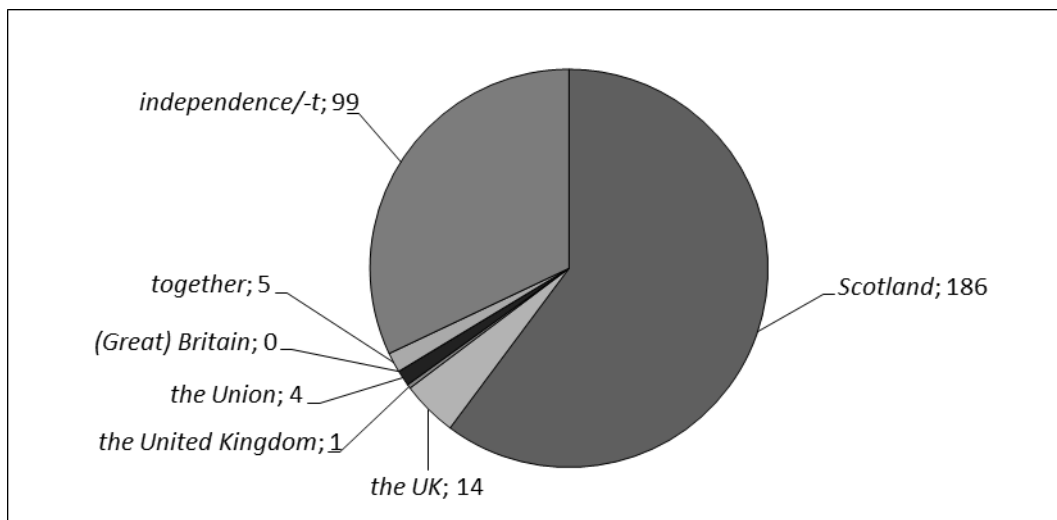


Figure 3. Key words in the Yes data

The total number of words referring to any of the countries or nationalities was 205, and clearly most of them, 186, were used in reference to *Scotland*. The contracted form *the UK* was the second most common, occurring 14 times. The full form *the United Kingdom* occurred only once, *the Union* four times and *Britain* or any of its derivatives were not found in the data at all. In addition to this, the word *together* appeared in the Yes data five times, *independence* or *independent* 99 times. In the light of these results, it is obvious that the Yes side emphasises a sense of nationalism and the unity of Scots by sticking to the use of their country and the key word *independence/-t*. This is in line with the results presented above regarding the use of the personal pronoun *we*. They also clearly avoid referring to the United Kingdom in any of its forms altogether, which appear in the data merely 24 times in total.

The number of words in the No data in reference to the countries and nationalities involved was nearly twice as big as in the Yes data, totalling 399. A good half of them, 229, was used in reference to Scotland and its people. Altogether 170 instances were employed for the whole of the UK, where the full form *the United Kingdom* yielded 79 hits and the contracted form *the UK* 57 hits. *The Union* and *Britain* were equally popular with 17 occurrences. As opposed to the Yes data, where the use of *independence/-t* was highly frequent, there were only 12 instances of it in the No data. Instead, they further highlighted the unity of the nations by using the word *together*, which occurred 48 times in the data. Only one of the words *together* was used in the phrase *better together*, but this did not refer to the official name of the No campaign. In contrast to the Yes data, the difference between the use of *Scotland* and *the UK* or its other forms is not as outstanding within the No camp, with 229 against 170. For the same reasons why the Yes side avoids drawing attention to the unity of the nations, the No side shuns the use of the concept *independence/-t*. Figure 4 summarises these results:

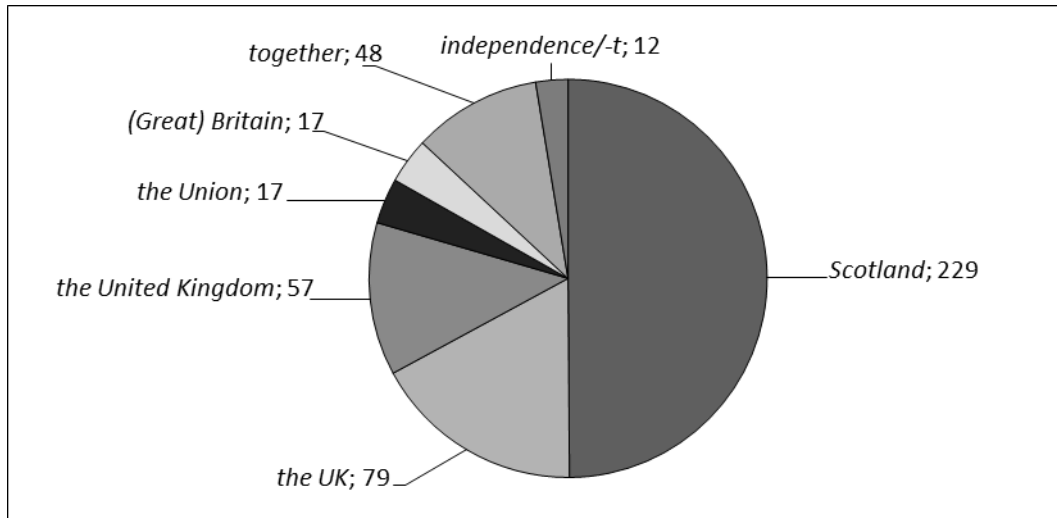


Figure 4. Key words in the No data

All in all, whereas Yes Scotland constantly refers to Scotland and to themselves both with the use of the personal pronoun *we* and the name of the country itself, the No side verbally acts in favour of the unity and the togetherness of the nations, as could be expected. These results are concurrent with the ones deriving from the analysis of metaphors presented above. Although the key words do not exhibit any metaphorical features as such, they form an essential part of the metaphor constructions exemplified in the sections above. The quantitative findings show how these constructions can be complemented with the support of lexical choices. Finally, because the data for the two camps are of different size and the key words occur in the transcripts in different quantity, table 3 below presents the frequencies for each key word in the data (N/1000):

Key word (N/1000)	Yes data	No data
<i>Scotland</i>	14.5	19.0
<i>the UK</i>	1.1	6.6
<i>the United Kingdom</i>	0.1	4.7
<i>the Union</i>	0.3	1.4
<i>(Great) Britain</i>	0.0	1.4
<i>together</i>	0.4	4.0
<i>independence/-t</i>	7.7	1.0

Table 3. Frequencies of the key words in both data

8 Discussion

Metaphorical expressions have a strong cultural basis and what they highlight corresponds to what people experience collectively. Consequently, a possible reason for why the No side won the referendum is that their rhetoric and the metaphors they used corresponded to the collective experience of the Scottish citizens as a nation. Even though the true reasons for the outcome can only be speculated and it is not even self-evident that metaphors had the most significant impact on the result, they are arguably influential linguistic elements with the power of appealing strongly to emotions. It has been shown in this work that politicians specifically employ them for the purposes of persuading the public for the support of an opinion – thus the mental images created by the means of metaphors form a likely source of motivation for most Scots to have declined independence. Yet, as always, further research concerning this particular topic is required, for which this study may serve as a platform.

Despite the fact that both camps employed metaphors deriving from the same source domains, the images they created through the metaphors were in most cases very different from one another, or even exactly the opposite. One of the rare occasions where both teams were unified was the metaphor *THE NATION IS A PERSON*: both camps used personification similarly, attributing either Scotland or the UK with human characteristics and referring to them as active agents in the world's affairs. As for the journey metaphors, the Yes camp considered the journey essentially a road towards home rule and the right road forward for Scotland. Independence was seen as a platform for the next phase of the journey and the beginning of a new, better future. The No camp, on the other hand, emphasised the irreversibility of the vote and implied that if Scotland were to choose a different path, the future would be risky and uncertain, even lethal. A safe choice would be to stay within the United Kingdom where the road is broad and leads them upwards. Furthermore, the No team saw Scotland essentially as part of the United Kingdom and in their view they form a large,

strong entity together. They highlighted the unity of the states via fabric and nature related metaphors which underlined the inseparability of the nations. They also recurrently referred to the four nations as a family and the UK as their home, which the nationalists intended to break. The relationship between the nations were compared to a marriage and Scotland's intention of leaving the UK to a divorce. These images were, in addition to their obvious negativity, powerful and likely to stir emotional responses in the audience. The Yes camp's vision of their future and the separation of the states was in a total contradiction with the No camp's view. Salmond and Sturgeon hardly mentioned that Scotland is part of the UK, but the entity metaphors they employed were twofold; essentially, they visualised independence as a small, easily attainable unit which they linked to kinaesthetic experience by using the campaign motto "Scotland's future in Scotland's hands" as reference point. Furthermore, they regarded independence as a tool for building a better future for Scotland and visualised their opponents and the Westminster establishment as an adversary, who aimed to destroy what they had already achieved. Independence was considered to bring fulfilment with it and Scotland would neither be whole nor equal with the other nations of the UK unless independent. Both parties supported their agenda with lexical choices which, along the metaphors they employed, highlighted certain realities and hid others.

The qualitative analysis of the metaphors was partly supported with quantitative data. On their own quantitative aspects in metaphor research do the metaphors themselves little justice. The effectiveness of a metaphor needs be judged by its emotional value, not by its frequency in the data – and this judgement stems purely from the researcher's subjective point of view, like their identification and interpretation as was discussed extensively in chapter 6. Quantitative data may provide the research with the credibility it requires, but it needs be borne in mind that especially in metaphor research the quantitative calculations presume qualitative categorisation, which again portrays notable subjective aspects. As a result, this

final chapter opens up the last chance to offer the opinion that, regardless of numbers and figures, the winner in the metaphor race between the two camps was the No side; in the qualitative light of this data it becomes clear that the metaphors the No camp created of the separation and the future of Scotland were considerably more powerful than the ones produced by the Yes side. Sense and sensibility do not necessarily go well together, but – without wanting to undermine the importance of metaphors and emotions here – the former may just have served as another possible explanation why the Scots rejected the chance for independence. During the first television debate between Salmond and Darling, the members of the audience were allowed to make statements as to how they would vote and why. There was an elderly lady in the audience whose words, in my opinion, neatly summarise the view of the silent No majority and illustrate a likely reason why the UK still exists in the form we have come to know it. These are the words I end this discussion and this work with:

I'm voting No because with the population of 5.5 million I cannot believe that there is enough strength in fiscal terms to support the public policies. I also feel that in this increasingly troubled world this is not the time to support nationalism. I think that the United Kingdom has been a trusted union for over 300 years and it should remain so.
(5 August 2014)

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